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By W. OWEN, at *Temple-Bar,*

T H E
H I S T O R Y
O F
T W O O R P H A N S.

Prejudice detected by Facts:

O R,

A Candid and Impartial

E N Q U I R Y,

I N T O T H E

Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*,

So far as relates to

Mary Queen of S C O T S.

W H E R E I N

Several material and controverted Points, in the Transactions of those Times, are fully considered and fairly discussed, by the Evidence of authentic History, corroborated by genuine Letters: Whereby the Conduct and Characters of both Queens are set in a true Light, and are retrieved from the scandalous and malicious Aspersions, which they have suffered by the Misrepresentations of partial Historians.

Veritas vincit.

L O N D O N:

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Reign of



To His G R A C E
The Duke of *NORFOLK*,
Hereditary Earl Marshal of *England*.

May it please your Grace,



HOPE you will pardon my Presumption in laying the following Sheets at your Feet, as the Cause of Truth can no where claim so just Patronage as that of the Great, Noble, and Disinterested. And as the present Piece, that craves your Grace's Protection, is wrote with no other View than to free Mankind from the Prejudice they may have imbibed through the Partiality of some Historians; I flatter myself that such a just Design, executed with becoming Diligence, will merit your Grace's Sanction.

The Histories wrote in those obscure Times, wherein I have attempted to penetrate, seem more to regard the serving a Party, or flattering a crowned Head, than with any View to the transmitting Facts down to latter Ages with Truth and Sincerity. However, in order to acquire Veracity, I have, in
this

DEDICATION.

this small Work, spared for no Pains in comparing the several Historians, both *English* and *Scotch* together, and collated the best, with such original Letters, as are to be met with in publick Repositories.

I might, indeed, rather than to trouble your Grace, have offered these Sheets to the Patronage of several of the Nobility, related by Blood to *Mary Queen of Scots*: But as by such a Proceeding, I should hazard the Imputation of Partiality, I chose rather to dedicate them to your Grace; especially as some of your renowned Predecessors were deeply concerned in the Transactions of that Age, which I have ventured to enquire into; and, I hope, that I have set the exalted Character of one of them in that just and true Light, wherein it deserves to be established, notwithstanding the malicious Endeavours of Party and Faction to the Contrary.

As the Virtues and Endowments of your Grace's Progenitors seem as Hereditary as their Titles, it were needless for me to specify their all concentrating in your own Person; where they procure you the Love and Esteem of the Great, the Noble, the unprejudiced and worthy Part of Mankind: And that they may ever continue to preserve the same, is the fervent Wish of,

Your GRACE's

Most humble,

And most obedient Servant,

The AUTHOR.



PREJUDICE

Detected by

FACTS.

The INTRODUCTION.



HOWEVER apparent the Advantages accruing to Society from an impartial Representation of past Events, however strong the Obligations under which an Author lies to be directed in his Historical Narrations by Candour and Truth, yet it is the Misfortune of *Englishmen*, and remark'd by all our Neighbours, that none of us are capable of transmitting to Posterity the most trifling Occurrences, without manifestly betraying some partial Inclination to conceal, evade, or pervert the Truth, to the selfish Purposes of some prevailing Faction, or the baser Motives of Passion, Malice, and Revenge.

If we were to compare not only History writ at different Periods of Time, but the Works of contemporary Writers upon the same Subject, we should be tempted to conclude, that not only the Authors were different, but that the Transactions
B they

they treated of were of some other Age or Country; so manifest are the Contradictions, and so great the Disagreement, that subsist between their Relations.

That these Blemishes in our Annals are not owing to want of Ability, in those who have undertaken the Province of Historical Writers, is apparent from the Works themselves: A Masterly Style, Method, and Perspicuity, discover themselves in a great many of our Authors; but there is wanting that disinterested and impartial Disposition, that Zeal and warm Attachment to Truth, which gives Life, Spirit, and intrinsic Worth, to every Performance of this Kind: Those Talents that ought only to be employ'd in the Service of Vertue and inestimable Truth, are prostituted to give a false Gloss to some mean Design, and conceal the monstrous Enormity of some party Motive.

The many Parties and Factions, which the Freedom of our happy Constitution in some Measure gives Birth to, may be one great Reason why Authors, perhaps, when they themselves are not aware of it, are led into partial Representations of Facts that have happen'd in their own Time: They have, perhaps, spent most of their Hours in one Set of Company, and, by that Means, have adapted their Notions, and habituated themselves to view all publick Transactions in that peculiar Light. With those Prepossessions they sit down to write, and seldom give themselves the Trouble to examine any Thing that does not favour their pre-conceived Notion of Things; they may be apt enough to give the Publick whatever they think may serve to corroborate their own Conjectures; but such Materials as are calculated to destroy their favourite System are never enquired after, or, if they are found, they are industriously conceal'd. Thus the present and future Generation are only made acquainted with

with one Side of the Question; and, instead of historical Facts, are obliged to fall in with the Sentiments of a particular Faction.

But if Historians would divest themselves of all private Prepossessions, and compile their Annals from the proper Materials, such as publick Records, Letters, and the private Correspondence of great and eminent Men, employ'd or entrusted with the Secret of publick Transactions, we should be no more at a Loss about Events pass'd, or to come at the Truth of the most secret Transactions of the preceding Ages.

That very little Regard has been had to those necessary Helps in Compiling our *English* History, is a Truth but too manifest. We see in all of them the secret Springs of Action attempted to be laid open, and Characters of Men and Facts are every where to be met with; but upon what Foundation is this Superstructure rais'd? Upon nothing more solid than the Author's Conjecture, supported by no better Authority than his simple *Ipsè Dixit*: Whereas the Springs of Action should disclose themselves from the Narration, and the Character of the Man should be drawn by himself, at least by such as were personally acquainted with him, and those Transactions which make him remarkable.

It is for this Consideration, that private Letters, on such Subjects as are of Moment, are look'd upon by all wise Men as the best Materials for a Compiler of History, especially when written to intimate Friends, and the real Sentiments of the Heart appears, without that Disguise which Cunning, Diffimulation, and State Policy obliges him to wear at other Times.

Therefore we hope the Publick will think it no improper Work, to endeavour, by comparing Original Letters with authentick Narratives, to rectify

such Mistakes as have crept into the *English* History, thro' Ignorance or Malice, during the greatest Part of the happy Reign of the glorious Queen *Elizabeth*. In the Relation of which, as we have no other Motive but Regard for Truth, and the right Information of Posterity, we hope to give no just Offence to any Party and Set of Men in the Kingdom. We shall barely state the Facts controverted, from the Historians of best Note, that have written of that Age, and transcribe the Letters faithfully from the Original, that seem in our Judgment to settle the Matter in Dispute, leaving the Publick to be Judges from the Evidence we produce.

Among such Original Letters, we met with many that gave us several Hints in Matters of smaller Historical Moment, and some that contradicted our most accurate Writers in Point of Chronology: But, lest I should tire the Reader, I have omitted most of these, and selected out such only as relate to Events truly remarkable in themselves, or that became considerable by their Effect.

There is no Point of *English* History so much perplexed with seeming Contradictions, or about which our Historians are so little agreed, as in what relates to that unfortunate Princess, *Mary* Queen of *Scots*: Tho' I know no Period of History so much labour'd by our Writers, in order to reconcile Publick Facts and Events, to the Views and Characters of the Persons concern'd.

The general Run of *English* Writers, with some *Scots* Historians, attach'd to the then prevailing Factions in both Kingdoms, have exhausted their *whole Stock* of Eloquence, to paint Queen *Elizabeth* as one of the greatest, and most equitable Sovereigns, that ever sway'd a Scepter: They have described her more than Woman; something bordering upon Divinity, free from all the Frailties not
only

only of her Sex, but even those that are commonly thought inseparable from Humanity; while, at the same Time, they have *given* us a Picture of her Rival, Queen *Mary* of *Scotland*, as if a Monster had sat for it: Every Feature is distorted, every Lineament bespeaks the Dæmon rather than the Woman; in a Word, as they have elevated the one above human Nature, they have debas'd the other below it. On the other Hand, the Tribe of Writers on the opposite Side have been even with their Antagonists; they have strip'd the Great Queen *Elizabeth* of every amiable Qualification, as a Woman; of every Principle of sound Policy, as a Sovereign; and retorted, as much as in them all lay, the Calumny *with which* her Adulators had bespatter'd the Queen of *Scots*; and have painted that ill-fated Queen with every exaggerated Eulogium due to the most amiable, and the most virtuous Princess on Earth.

Each Party have their Advocates, each have produced a Cloud of Witnesses in support of their contradictory Characters: How then must this Age judge? How get rid of that Heap of Rubbish, that Chaos of Scandal and Flattery, with which Truth is at present enveloped? Only by divesting ourselves of all Prepossessions in Favour of the principal Actors; and that blind Regard to Names, made venerable by mouldy Antiquity, that are too apt to prejudice the Mind, and mislead the Judgment, in our Researches into Truth.

The Principal Points which I intend in this Work to examine into are these, *viz.* 1st, How far the Part acted by the *English* Queen, previous to the Flight of Queen *Mary* from *Scotland* into *England*, (that is, the Intrigue carried on by her Ministers in that Kingdom during those Broils, which preceded that Event) was consistent with the Laws of good Neighbourhood, subsisting between the two Nations,

tions, or justified by the Principles of sound Policy. 2dly, How far the Imprisonment of the Queen of *Scots* was consonant to the Laws of Hospitality, the sacred Right of Crown'd Heads, or the Principles of Equity and Humanity, upon which Queen *Elizabeth* valued herself so much. 3dly, Whether *Mary* Queen of *Scots* was, or was not concern'd in the Murder of her Husband, the Lord *Darnley*. 4thly, How far, supposing that Fact true, and her After-Marriage with *Bothwell* the principal Agent in that horrid Murder, it could justify Queen *Elizabeth* in delivering *Mary* Prisoner, at the Request of her Rebellious Subjects. 5thly, How far the Trial, Condemnation, and Execution of that Princess, by the Government of *England*, was justifiable by the Law of Nations. And, lastly, if, or not, Queen *Elizabeth* was actually consenting to her Death; and how much of Malice and female Emulation, as well as true Policy, determined her in that unprecedented Step. These are Points that are absolutely controverted by most of our Historians, and by all of them left dubious; though, by their Importance, it would seem they should have employ'd their greatest Attention to clear them up to the Publick, as they serve to establish the true Character of both the Queens, and gives us Light into the real Motive by which each were actuated.

But, before I proceed to clear up these knotty Points, I must, for the Sake of such of my Readers as are not fully acquainted with the Transactions of that Century, give a brief Account of the Life of *Mary* Queen of *Scots*, down to the Period of her Flight from that Kingdom; which will help the Reader to frame a better Judgment of those controverted Points, that we have proposed to discuss.



AN
ABRIDGMENT
OF THE
LIFE
OF
QUEEN *MARY*,
Down to her Arrival in *England*.



MARY Queen of *Scots* was Daughter, and sole Heiress of *James* the Vth of *Scotland*, by his second Wife, Sister to the Duke of *Guise*, and Granddaughter to *Margaret*, Daughter of *Henry* the VIIth of *England*; by which she was not only Queen of *Scotland*, but Heiress of the Crown of *England*, failing Issue of Queen *Elizabeth*: A Title which, perhaps, was her greatest Crime, and hasten'd on that unhappy Catastrophe, which ended her Life.

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She was born at a Time when her Country was involv'd in the utmost Misery, five Days before the fatal Battle of *Flowden*, where a great Number of the prime Nobility of *Scotland* lost their Lives and Liberties, which so sensibly affected the King, that he but a few Days survived it, leaving the Crown to his Infant Daughter, and his Country a Prey to the Fury of Faction and civil Discord at Home, and the Insults of a haughty Enemy from Abroad. He died the 13th of *December*, 1542, and was buried the latter end of *January* following.

The King was scarce cold, when the Country began to feel the Effects of factious Rage, and intestine Broils. The Queen Mother flatter'd herself she would be preferr'd to the Regency during the Minority of the Infant Queen; but Cardinal *Beaton*, Archbishop of *St. Andrews*, took upon him to forge a Will for the deceas'd King, by which he himself, with three others of the Nobility whom he should chuse as Accessors, were appointed to execute the Office of Regency: However, this Impostor did not long continue his Usurpation; the Cheat was discover'd, and the Cardinal imprison'd; but was saved (unhappily for his Country) from any further Punishment, out of Regard to his Character in the Church; and *James Hamilton*, Earl of *Arran*, was chosen Regent by the Convention of Estates, notwithstanding the Intrigues of the Queen Mother to oppose him.

Henry the VIIIth, tho' then at War with *Scotland*, no sooner heard of the King's Death, and that he had left no Issue, but an Infant Daughter, than it occur'd to him that this was a fit Opportunity to bring about the much wish'd for Union of the Crowns, by a Marriage between his Son *Edward* and the young Queen of *Scotland*. The Advantages that would accrue to *England* from such a Match were too apparent not to be immediately

ately foreseen by a Prince less penetrating than *Henry* the VIIIth. And several Circumstances concurr'd to promise him Success in conquering that Averſion the *Scots* Nation had entertain'd against any Friendship or Alliance with *England*; especially such as tended to bring them under any Dependence on that Crown, which a Matrimonial Alliance was the most likely to do.

The Success of the Duke of *Norfolk*, in the last mention'd Battle against the *Scots*, had put into *Henry's* Hands some of the leading Men of that Nation: Men eminent both for Rank, Parts and Influence. And there had been some other Prisoners of Note taken before, and some Refugees, who had fled from *Scotland* into *England*, during the weak Administration of the late King, and his worthless Favourite *Oliver Sinclair*. All these *Henry* intended to Practice upon, and to make their natural Desire of Liberty subservient to his politick Views. To this Purpose, the Prisoners are treated with great Respect, and the Advantages of an *English* Alliance painted in the most engaging Colours. The crafty *Henry* soon found Means to discover their weak Side: That all of them were fond of Liberty, some of them were dazzled with the Pomp and Promises of an *English* Court, and others were capable of being wrought upon by that never failing Argument persuasive Gold. He apply'd himself to each of their Foibles, till he had moulded them all into one Way of Thinking, and prevail'd on them to approve the Match, to promise to get it effected in *Scotland*, or return again his Prisoners; for the Performance of which they gave him Hostages, and set out for their own Country to execute *Henry's* Scheme.

Sir *Ralph Sadler* was sent from King *Henry* to the States of *Scotland* as his Ambassador, to propose publickly both a Peace and the Match. The

Ambassadors met with little Opposition in that Assembly: They were over-perswaded by their newly-return'd Countrymen to patch up a Peace, and conclude the Match with *England*.

The Tranquility occasion'd by this sudden patch'd up Peace did not continue long; for the Cardinal Archbishop having obtain'd his Liberty, set all his Engines to work in order to prevent the Match with *England*. He represented to the Queen-Mother (a rigid Papist) the Danger which this Alliance was likely to produce to the establish'd Religion of the Kingdom, by admitting to the matrimonial Crown, a Prince educated in Principles opposite to the See of *Rome*. As also the Probability there was, that an Alliance with *England* would destroy the antient League with *France*, at that Time look'd upon as a National Advantage, on account of the many Privileges then enjoy'd by the *Scots*, in point of Commerce, and Places at the *French* Court. These Suggestions wrought upon the Queen, naturally a Bigot to her Religion, and spirited up by her Brothers the *Guises*, profess'd Enemies to the Interest of *England*. She supply'd the officious Cardinal with large Sums of Money, which enabled him to bribe some of the *Scots* Nobility, and prevail on them to lend their Assistance in disappointing the lately concluded Match. A Faction was instantly form'd against the Regent *Hamilton*, headed by the Queen-Mother and the Cardinal; but they still found themselves too weak for that Nobleman, as he was supported by the Power and Interest of the *English* King. They therefore wrote to the *French* King, to send over into *Scotland* *Matthew* Earl of *Lenox*, between whom and the House of *Hamilton* there was an inveterate Enmity. The King of *France* found it too much his Interest to disappoint King *Henry's* Views upon *Scotland*, to hesitate one Moment falling into the
the

the Measures of the Faction in that Kingdom. The Earl of *Lenox* came over and join'd the Party, which gave some Countenance to their Proceedings, as he was next Heir to the Crown, failing Issue of the Infant-Queen, and was made to hope that he might marry the Queen-Mother.

The Regent *Hamilton* got some Intelligence of the Storm that was gathering, and judged that he must be made a Sacrifice, if the Scheme of the Party succeeded without his Participation: He therefore was prevail'd on by the Queen and Cardinal to approve of their Measures, and to promise to be directed by them. This alienated them from the Interest of *Lenox*, whose Assistance they had only courted purely in Odium to the Regent: The *French* King was likewise prevail'd on to desert him, since *Hamilton* was now brought over to his Interest, and had engaged to oppose *England* with all his Power, which, by the Coalition, was now greater than that of *Lenox*.

The Earl of *Lenox* finding himself slighted and circumvented, both by his Party in *Scotland*, and his Patron the King of *France*, politically resolved to change Side, and to take Part with King *Henry*. He made his Escape from *Scotland*, and was received by the King of *England* with great Marks of Esteem and Friendship; who promised him Protection, and gave him in Marriage *Margaret*, Daughter of his Sister *Margaret*, Mother of King *James* the Vth, by her second Husband *Douglas* Earl of *Angus*; of which Marriage the unhappy Lord *Darnley*, Husband to *Mary* Queen of *Scotland*, was the Issue.

King *Henry* was so bent upon the Match, that he commenced Hostilities against *Scotland*, which lasted all the Remainder of his Reign, without his being able to make any Impression upon those who govern'd that Kingdom, who were supported

with Men, Money, and Ammunition, by the King of *France*.

Edward the VIth succeeded to the Crown of *England*, in the Year 1547. The Duke of *Somerſet*, then Protector, was equally zealous to bring about the Match, and for that Purpose made Overtures to the Government of *Scotland*; but to no Purpose. He therefore thought to take Advantage of the Convulſion raiſed in the Kingdom by the Diſputes about Religion, (which were carried on by both Parties without Decency, or Chriſtian Charity,) by attacking them, thus divided by in-teſtine Broils, with a powerful Army. He entered *Scotland*, and obtain'd a conſiderable Victory over the *Scots*, near *Preſton*, upon the 10th of *September*, 1547. But this had a contrary Effect to what he propoſed, it increas'd the Enmity of that People to the *Engliſh*; united them all in one Inter-eſt to oppoſe the *Engliſh* Pretenſions; and to throw themſelves into the Arms of *France* for Protection. There were no doubt many of them who wiſh'd ſincerely for the Marriage of their Queen with the King of *England*, but they could not bear to be bully'd into his Meaſures; 'tis the Nature of that People to become obſtinate by Oppoſition; Threats, Menaces, and Oppreſſion ſerve to raiſe their Reſentment: Whereas there is no People on the Face of the Earth more eaſily wrought upon by perſwaſive Meaſures, eaſily cajol'd, and bubbled out of every Thing; but, by Oppoſition, become tenacious of meer Trifles.

The Infant-Queen, upon the Deſeat near *Preſton*, was ſent to *Dumbarton* Caſtle for the Security of her Perſon. And the next Year, 1548, the *French* King having ſent conſiderable Succours to his Party in *Scotland*, the Ships which brought them over, by Order of the Eſtates of that Kingdom, were ordered to go about the North of *Scotland*, and to
take

take on Board the young Queen from *Dumbarton*. They landed her at *Brest*, and she was afterwards conveyed by easy Journeys to *Paris*.

Upon her Arrival, there were two Parties form'd in the Court of *France*. The *Guises* and the Duke of *Lorrain*, Brothers to the Queen-Mother, and Uncles to the Infant-Queen of *Scotland*, on one Hand, propos'd immediately marrying her to the *Dauphin*: But the old Constable *Montmorency*, and some other Courtiers, were for marrying her to some Peer of *France*, and sending them both over to *Scotland*, to preserve the Peace of the Nation. However, the Interest of the *Guises*, who were fond of this additional Honour to their House, and the natural Desire the *French* had to make *Scotland* a Province of *France*, prevail'd for the Marriage with the *Dauphin*.

Thus far the *French* Party in *Scotland* prevail'd, but they had been oblig'd to make some Concession, in order to bring about their Schemes, which now embarrass'd them. The Queen-Mother had not only in view to disappoint the *English* Alliance, and to promote that with *France* to humour her Brother; but she wanted to wrest the Regency out of the Hands of *Hamilton* into her own. To effect these, she had been oblig'd to make use of the Assistance of the leading Men of the Reformed Religion; and, on that Account, was constrain'd to connive at the Exercise of their Religion, and to put some Restraint upon the Popish Clergy from giving them that Disturbance, which their own Inclination, and the Contrivance of the Establish'd Constitution prompted them to.

By this Indulgence, and the Protection of Queen *Elizabeth*, now upon the Throne of *England*, the Protestants gather'd such Strength in the Kingdom, that it was a difficult Matter to suppress them, which the Queen-Mother intended, having gain'd
by

by their Help the two grand Points she had in View, the *French* Marriage, and herself chosen Regent; which last she accomplish'd by perswading, or rather menacing *Hamilton* to a Resignation.

She acquainted the principal Nobility, among the Reform'd, that she had express Orders from the Queen their Sovereign, and her Husband *Francis*, now King of *France*, to prosecute such, with all the Rigour of the Laws, as would not recant the Errors of the new Heresy. The Protestant Lords gave the Queen-Regent as resolute an Answer, and both Parties prepared to decide the Religious Controversy by the Sword. Queen *Elizabeth* openly join'd the Protestants, both on account of Religion and Policy; and the Reason she publicly assign'd was, that the Queen of *Scotland*, and her Husband *Francis*, had assumed the Regal Titles and Arms of *England*. The Protestants associated themselves by the Name of the *Lords of the Congregation*, and the Mob fell to destroying Churches, Monasteries, Images, and every Thing that had the least Resemblance to Popery; in which they were supported by the *Lords of the Congregation*. The Queen-Regent attempted to oppose them, but she was too weak for the Popular Torrent: They, with the Assistance of the *English* Fleet, laid Siege to the Town of *Leith*, where the *French*, in the Bay of *Scotland*, had entrench'd themselves; in the Interim of which, the Queen-Regent died of meer Grief, on the 9th of *July*, 1559.

Her Death left the Protestants able to struggle with those of the opposite Interest; who made a Virtue of Necessity, and submitted to the Times. A Peace was concluded with Queen *Elizabeth*; by which it was agreed, that the then Queen of *Scotland*, and her Husband, should leave out the Arms and Titles of *England*; that the *French* in
Scotland

Scotland should be transported to *France* in the Queen of *England's* Ships; and that the *Lords of the Congregation*, and their Party, should be allow'd the free Exercise of their Religion.

This Treaty, called the Treaty of *Edinburgh*, or *Leith*, was concluded on the Part of *England* by Sir *William Cecil*, and Dr. *Nicholas Wotton*, Dean of *York*; and was afterwards ratified by her Majesty; but the Queen of *Scotland* could never be prevail'd on to ratify it, on her Part, either while she remain'd in *France*, or after her Return to *Scotland*. While she remain'd under the Influence of her Husband the King of *France*, there was some plausible Excuse for her Refusal, but her Obstinacy after she return'd to her own Kingdom, is one of those Steps in her Conduct which cannot be accounted for; and afforded Queen *Elizabeth*, and the *English* Ministry, a plausible Pretence to intermeddle with and embarrass her Affairs.

Francis the II^d of *France* dying by one accidental Blow at a Tournament, left the Queen of *Scotland* a Widow, without much Experience in Matters of Government, and much less acquainted with the State of her native Kingdom, or the Temper and Disposition of her Subjects. However, as a Coolness soon after ensued between her and the Queen-Mother of *France*, she resolved to leave that Court, and return to her own Country; having first visited her Uncles the Dukes of *Lorraine* and *Guise*. She demanded a Pass-port from Queen *Elizabeth*, for herself and her Retinue to pass by Sea, but was refused it, and some Ships were sent out to intercept her in her Passage; but, by the Help of a Fog, she arrived safe in *Scotland*.

The long unsettled State of the Government of that Kingdom, made her Appearance very acceptable to the People; and her Deportment to all Ranks,

Ranks, for the first Years of her Reign, was such as gain'd her the sincere Affections of her Subjects.

She was conducted in all her Affairs by the Prior of St. *Andrew's*, her Bastard Brother, a Protestant, whom she created Earl of *Murray*, and Secretary *Ladington*. These two, by their Interest with the Earl of *Leicester*, and Secretary *Cecil*, the two great Favourites of Queen *Elizabeth*, kept a seeming Amity between the two Queens, and hindred any Animosity from breaking out for a considerable Time; but at last Female Jealousy got the Ascendant over their Policy, and laid the Foundation of that Enmity which disturb'd the Repose of the one, and ended in the Ruin of the other.

The Queen of *Scotland* being now Dowager of one of the most potent Kingdoms of *Europe*, possess'd of another in her own Right, and the next in Succession to the Crown of *England* and *Ireland*, in the Prime of her Youth, and esteem'd one of the finest Women of the Age, it was no Wonder to find several Matches propos'd to her: Amongst the rest, the Arch-Duke *Charles* of *Austria*, younger Son to the Emperor *Ferdinand*, made his Addresses. The Queen of *Scotland* was in no Manner averse to Marriage in general, nor to this Match in particular, as it was recommended to her by her Uncle the Duke of *Lorraine*; therefore, upon the Proposal being made to her, she acquainted her Sister-Queen *Elizabeth*, and desired her Advice. That Queen, whither piqued that Queen *Mary* should be married before her, or out of political Views, seem'd to dissuade her from that Match; and, in the mean Time, set her Agents at Work to negotiate a Marriage between herself and the Arch-Duke *Charles*; which tho' it did not take Effect, yet discover'd to Queen *Mary* a Disposition in the *English* Queen to circumvent her, in a Point which few Women care to have a Rival in; and rais'd in them both a Dis-

gust,

guft, which only State Policy obliged them to ftifle.

Queen *Elizabeth*, the more to divert Queen *Mary* from the foreign Alliance, propos'd to her the Marriage of the Earl of *Leicefter*; and profer'd, in cafe of her marrying him, or any other *English* Peer ſhe ſhould approve, to declare the Succeſſion of the Crown of *England* in her Favour. But in this Queen *Elizabeth* was not ſincere; ſhe only had in View, as I have obſerved, to break off the propos'd Match with the Arch-Duke, but was not willing the Match with *Leicefter* ſhould ſucceed; as that Nobleman had made Pretenſions to herſelf, which ſhe had not then fully reſolved to reject, eſpecially in Favour of Queen *Mary*. Therefore, as ſoon as ſhe found Matters farther advanced, than ſhe enclin'd to, ſhe ſecretly laid Obſtacles in the Way; and, at laſt, ſent down to *Scotland* the Lord *Darnley*, Son of the Earl of *Lenox*, eſteem'd one of the handſomeſt Men of the Age, to engage, if poſſible, the young Queen of *Scotland*'s Affections. But as if ſhe had no Intention Queen *Mary* ſhould marry at all, in her Letters to that Queen, ſhe caution'd her from ſhewing too great Favour to the Earl of *Lenox*, for fear of diſobliging the Houſe of *Hamilton*; and by that Means giving Birth to Faction and intestine Broils in her Kingdom. The oppoſing in this Manner every Match that was propos'd, ſo exaſperated Queen *Mary*, that in her Answer to Queen *Elizabeth*'s Letter to her on that Subject, ſhe let drop ſome Expreſſions which occaſion'd a Coldneſs, and ſtopt all Inter-
course of Letters between them for ſome Time.

The Lord *Darnley* arriv'd in *Scotland*, and had his firſt Interview with the Queen at *Weems*, in the Shire of *Fife*; where her Maſteſty was upon a Progreſs. He was very well received, and, in ſome

little Time made Proposals of Marriage, which the Queen took Time to deliberate on.

Queen *Elizabeth*, finding that this Match was likely to succeed, declared openly against it by her Ambassador ; and commanded the Lord *Darnley*, as a Subject born in *England*, and possessed of Estates there, to return upon his Allegiance ; but the Prospect of a Crown, and a fair Princess, were strong Allurements to detain him there, therefore he disobeyed the Command. Queen *Elizabeth* then wrought upon the *Hamilton* Faction to oppose the Match, and they, to cover their Disloyalty and Rebellion, made Religion a Party to the Quarrel : They pretended the Reform'd Doctrines was in Danger from this Marriage ; tho' both the Lord *Darnley*, his Father, and all his Family were Protestants ; but some Excuse must be made for their Proceedings, and the very Sound of Religion, in those Days, was sufficient to inflame the Populace, which was their Aim. Queen *Elizabeth* promised to protect them, and that she would risque her Crown in their Behalf, in case they were put in any Danger by opposing this Match. Thus encouraged, they address'd the Queen against her proposed Marriage ; and finding their Remonstrances were received with Indifference, they resolved to effect their Designs by Force. The Duke of *Hamilton*, the Earls of *Argyle*, *Roths*, *Murray*, and *Glencium*, with some leading Commoners of the *Hamilton* Faction, attempted to seize the Lord *Darnley* in the Queen's Company, at the House of *New Biath*, in order to send him Prisoner into *England* ; yet happening to be disappointed of their Aim, they fled to *England* for Refuge ; expecting Performance of the mighty Promises Queen *Elizabeth* had made them, when she perswaded them to renounce their Loyalty to their lawful Sovereign. But they were made acquainted with a Stroke of
that

that Queen's Policy before they left *England*, which the Cunningest of them was not prepared to avoid ; for when they arrived at *Newcastle*, they stopped, and sent the Lord *Murray*, and the Abbot of *Killwinnig*, to *London*, to represent their Condition to Queen *Elizabeth* ; they were received and treated with Disdain, and could not even obtain Subsistence, till they had, on their Knees, in the Presence of the Queen, the *Spanish* and *French* Ambassadors, confess'd that Queen *Elizabeth* had, in no Shape, moved or encouraged them to oppose the Queen their Sovereign's Marriage. The Queen acted this Part in order to conceal her real Design from these two Ambassadors, who had represented to her, in their Masters Names, that they look'd upon her Majesty as the Fomenter of that Rebellion in *Scotland*, and that it would seem as if her whole Policy consisted in embroiling her Neighbours ; and she wrought upon the Earl of *Murray*, and the deputed Abbot, to make that false Confession, by Promises of secret Assistance ; but when they finish'd their Speech, she address'd them in these Words :
 " Now you have told the Truth ; for neither did
 " I, nor any in my Name, stir you up against
 " your Queen ; for your abominable Treasons may
 " serve for Example to my own Subjects to rebel
 " against me : Therefore get you out of my Pre-
 " sence, ye are but unworthy Traitors." This Farce might have been borne with by these misled Noblemen, had she kept her Promise of secret Supplies and Protection : But, this Turn being served, they were depriv'd of the Allowance they had before, and were obliged to subsist by the Contributions of some private Persons of their own Perswasion in the City of *London*.

I have taken this Relation concerning Queen *Elizabeth*'s Transactions with the Rebel Lords of *Scotland*, from Sir *James Melville*'s Memoirs, who,

in this Respect, differs from *Camden*, *Rapin*, *Buchanan*, and others, who have writ of this Period. But I find myself justify'd in following that Gentleman, rather than any other, both by the Tenor of the Queen's Conduct after the Queen of *Scotland's* Marriage, and by the two first Letters which I am to insert.

Camden owns that Queen *Elizabeth* permitted *Murray* and his Rebel Companions to lurk in *England*, and that she secretly supply'd them by the Hands of the Earl of *Bedford*, with Money for their Subsistence; yet denies that her Majesty was concern'd in, or privy to their Rebellion, but gave them Protection in the same Manner as the Queen of *Scotland* protected *O'Neale* from *Ireland*, and some other *English* and *Welch* Fugitives. *Buchanan*, and *Rapin* after him, absolutely denies that the Queen had any previous Knowledge of their Insurrection to seize the Lord *Darnley*, or that she gave them any Succour after they fled into *England*, and quotes as his Authority this above-mention'd Confession of *Murray*, and the Abbot of *Killwinning* his Associate. But Sir *James Melville* lets us into the Secret of this Transaction, how it was extorted from these Lords; and asserts, that Sir *Nicholas Throgmorton*, the *English* Ambassador to Queen *Mary*, produced to some Persons of Quality, Friends to these Noblemen, who had challenged him with the Queen's Prevarication, an Order of Council, directing him to make these Promises in the Queen's Name, to the Lords; and his Testimony is now put beyond Doubt, by the two following Letters; the one from Queen *Elizabeth*, and the other from Secretary *Cecil*, to the Earl of *Shrewsbury*.

LETTER

L E T T E R I.

Queen ELIZABETH to George Earl of Shrewsbury, dated the 8th of October, 1565.

Right trusty and well-beloved Cousin and Counsellor,

‘ **F**Orasmuch as the Troubles of Scotland daily
 ‘ *encrease, with all Manner of Hostilities, tend-*
 ‘ *ing to the Suppression of our Friends in that Country,*
 ‘ and whereof the Issue is uncertain; and that we
 ‘ find it very meet and necessary in such doubtful
 ‘ Times, when the Realm of Scotland, especially
 ‘ the Borders, are in Arms, to have our Subjects
 ‘ in those North Parts also in Readiness; so that
 ‘ we may both know what of our Force may be
 ‘ ready for our Service, and that the same may be
 ‘ used, converted, and employed, to the Obser-
 ‘ vation of Peace and Quietness, and Defence of
 ‘ our Realm, on any Occasion that may be mini-
 ‘ stered, either from foreign Parts, or by any lewd
 ‘ disordered Subjects at Home: And for these,
 ‘ and some other private Considerations, our Will
 ‘ and Pleasure is, that, by Authority of our Com-
 ‘ mission, granted to you under our Great Seal,
 ‘ you shall cause Muster to be speedily and duly
 ‘ made of all Manner of Persons within the said
 ‘ Counties, able to serve in Manner of War; and
 ‘ cause them all, according to their several Degrees
 ‘ and Qualities, and according to the Laws of our
 ‘ Realm, in that Case provided, and the antient
 ‘ Custom heretofore used, to be in Readiness, with
 ‘ Horse, Arms, and Weapons, in the best Manner,
 ‘ for the Service of us and our Realm, whensoever
 ‘ they shall be commanded.

‘ Though

' Though of late, upon the appointing 600 Men
 ' out of the County of *York*, for the Aid of our
 ' Frontiers, it was then, both for more Expedition
 ' and the less Charges of the Gentlemen, thought
 ' meet to have the said Number appointed to be the
 ' Charge of certain Captains, sent from *Berwick*,
 ' and not to the Gentlemen of that County; yet
 ' because it hath appear'd by your Letters to our
 ' Secretary, whereof he hath made us privy, that
 ' the Gentlemen of that County, who heretofore
 ' were appointed to have the Charge of the said
 ' Numbers, conceived some Misliking thereof,
 ' which proceeded of a very natural and good Dis-
 ' position to serve us, and therein we allow of
 ' them; we mean hereafter to observe such Order,
 ' as at any Time, when any such Power shall be
 ' sent out of the County within your Lieutenancy,
 ' the same shall become the Charge of such Gen-
 ' tlemen, and Men of Command of the said County,
 ' as yourself shall think fittest and meetest, both for
 ' the Tract and Knowledge to take the Charge.

' Finally, we require you to use some Expe-
 ' dition in the Service now committed to your
 ' Charge, and thereof to cause us to be certified
 ' distinctly.'

L E T T E R II.

Sir William Cecil to George Earl of Shrews-
bury, dated the 8th of October, 1565.

My very good Lord,

' I Send you the Queen's Letter, and your Com-
 ' mission of Lieutenancy for the Counties of
 ' *York*, &c. being sorry to have you troubled
 ' therewith;

' therewith ; but I know the Service of the Queen's
 ' Majesty is always acceptable to you. Whatever
 ' your Lordship shall hear, I cannot otherways ascer-
 ' tain you, but that it is meet her Majesty keep the
 ' Peace with *Scotland*, and not to make War but
 ' when she shall be provoked by Invasion, and to
 ' that End I think all Counsellors here are consenting.
 ' And yet it is true, the Ruin of *Murray* and the
 ' other Lords, our Friends in *Scotland*, must hinder
 ' the Intelligence and Amity betwixt the Realms ;
 ' but, for my Part, I find no Safety to enter into
 ' War, but upon just Cause ; especially since the
 ' late Confession of *Murray*, and the Abbot, has
 ' releas'd her Majesty from all former Promises to
 ' these Lords.

' My Lord *Mountjoy* came Home Yesterday,
 ' and his Colleague will be here this Night ; they
 ' have, by consent, suspended the * Treaty until
 ' the 15th of *March* next : And so, with my
 ' humble Commendations to my honourable good
 ' Lady, I am, &c.'

These two Letters, especially the last, leaves us
 no room to doubt the Part Queen *Elizabeth* acted
 in *Murray's* Rebellion : And we may judge that
 the Armament making in the Northern Counties
 was not design'd purely to defend the Borders, but
 to give Spirit to their Party in *Scotland*, by the
 Hopes of this Succour being design'd for them ;
 tho' the Ministry of Queen *Elizabeth* were wiser
 than to engage further in the Quarrel of their
 Friends, or rather Tools, than suited with the pub-
 lick Safety. It was agreeable to their Policy to
 embroil *Scotland* within itself, but not to enter into
 an open War without, what *Cecil* calls, *just Cause*.

* A Treaty was then on Foot with *France*, which was not
 concluded for some Years after,

I might apply these two Letters to the Solution of our first Question, *viz.* how far the Part Queen *Elizabeth* acted, preceding the Queen of *Scotland's* Flight into *England*, was consistent with the Laws of good Neighbourhood, or justified by the Principles of sound Policy; but as there are several other Facts serving to unravel the secret Springs of the Transactions of those Times, I shall collect them together before I trouble the Reader with a general Application, and shall now proceed to the remaining Part of Queen *Mary's* History.

Notwithstanding the Opposition of the *Hamilton* Party, and all the seeming Endeavours of Queen *Elizabeth*, to prevent Queen *Mary's* marrying Lord *Darnley*, yet her Affections were so riveted, from the first Sight of that young Nobleman, as rendered it impossible to alter her Resolutions: Wherefore summoning a Parliament to meet at *Stirling*, on the 20th of *May*, 1565, she acquainted them with her intended Marriage, in order to gain their Approbation and Ratification thereof: When, after long Debates, and much Opposition, *Rizio*, one of her Secretaries of State, (of whom more hereafter) so managed Matters, by influencing a Majority, that he carried the Point for the Queen; and procured a Vote that Lord *Darnley* should be acknowledged as King immediately upon the Marriage, which was accordingly celebrated about the Middle of *July* following: And *Darnley*, whom the Queen had previously created Lord *Ardmanock*, Earl of *Ross*, and Duke of *Rothsay*, was proclaimed King the Day after their Nuptials, and joined in the Sovereignty with Queen *Mary*.

Besides a violent personal Attachment to this graceful and comely young Nobleman, the Queen had several political Reasons for making him her Husband. First, as Lord *Darnley* was Great Nephew to King *Henry* the VIIIth of *England*,
Queen

Queen *Mary* was apprehensive, that should he marry into any of the great Families of *England*, through their Power and Influence, and as himself was born in that Kingdom, he might, upon the Death of Queen *Elizabeth*, and in Default of her Male Issue, lay Claim to the Crown of *England*, and thereby cut off *Mary's* Right of Succession. Secondly, she flattered herself that her Marriage with Lord *Darnley* would not give such Umbrage to the *French* Court, as if she had matched with the Earl of *Leicester*; which the Court of *France* strove, by all Means, to impede, in Favour of the Arch-Duke of *Austria*, whom Queen *Mary* refused chiefly out of Complaisance to Queen *Elizabeth*; being very much inclined to live in Peace and Amity with her, provided that Queen and her Ministry were not too exorbitant. Thirdly, by this Match she proposed, as Lord *Darnley* was thus descended from the same Royal Stock of the *Stewarts*, to continue the Succession of the Royal Line in the same Name and Family, if she happened to have Male Issue by him. Fourthly, and lastly, by marrying Lord *Darnley*, she knew that she should free herself from Queen *Elizabeth's* Solicitations in Behalf of her Favourite the Earl of *Leicester*.

Whatever Weight the foregoing Motives of Queen *Mary*, for her Marriage with Lord *Darnley*, may be adjudged to have, yet we are somewhat at a Loss on what Account Queen *Elizabeth* should so much endeavour to obstruct that Match, especially after the aforementioned Declaration that she made to the Queen of *Scots*, by *Randolph* her Ambassador; that in Case of her marrying of the Earl of *Leicester*, or any other *English* Peer, whom she should recommend or approve of, she would settle the Succession of the Crown of *England* in her Favour, and procure a Parliamentary Ratification

thereof.—This was a Point wherein Queen *Elizabeth* was always very tenacious of declaring herself ; to prevent, as she said, the Evils that might arise both to herself and the Commonwealth, by encouraging her Successor to wish or long for her Death : Though it seems rather to proceed from a View of keeping in strict Subjection, and Dependance on herself, all such as had any Claim to her Crown after her Decease. For, were it otherwise, why did she not perform her Promise on this Article upon Queen *Mary's* marrying the Lord *Darnley*, whose Father, the Earl of *Lenox*, was next Heir to the Crown of *England* ?

The only Reasons that Queen *Elizabeth* gave openly for opposing this Match, were such as had been impressed on her Mind by the Earl of *Murray*, one of the *Scotch* Fugitives ; who being natural Brother to the Queen of *Scots*, was very much interested in giving all possible Obstruction thereunto : And accordingly incensed the *English* Queen, on this Occasion, against Queen *Mary*, by urging, that *Mary's* Design by marrying Lord *Darnley*, was to enforce her Right of Succession to the Crown of *England*, and to promote the *Romish* Religion : Queen *Elizabeth* was weak enough to make use of these two Pleas, tho' there was not the least apparent Foundation for the latter ; as Lord *Darnley*, all his Family, and most of those in his Interest, were Protestants.

When Queen *Elizabeth* had used her utmost Efforts to stop the Marriage, by insisting on *Lenox* and his Son's Return to *England* :—By threatening to attack the Frontier of *Scotland*, for which Purpose some Forces (as appears by the afore recited Letters) were ordered to advance to the Borders of *England*, to be in Readiness :—By encouraging and supporting the *Scots* Nobility who opposed the Marriage :—By restoring to Favour the Lady
Catharine

Catharine Gray, and the Earl of *Hertford*, who had Pretensions to the Succession to the Crown of *England*:—And by traversing all the Negotiations of the *Scots* with *France* or *Spain*: Yet, after all her Pains, on finding these Efforts had no Success, and that, maugre her Inclination, the Marriage was concluded, she affected to comfort herself on this Occasion with the following Alleviations, viz. First, that by this low and inferior Match, *Mary*, Queen of *Scotland*, her only Rival, was rendered incapable of any Enterprizes of Consequence against her, or the Kingdom of *England*. Secondly, that the Nobility of *Scotland*, who had acted in a State of Anarchy, as Kings, for twenty Years past, would not readily be subjected to Sovereignty, nor brought to a peaceable Submission to their present King and Queen. And, lastly, she was certain, that the turbulent Nobility of *Scotland*, by their restless Spirit, would find sufficient Employ at Home for Queen *Mary* and her new Husband, to prevent their molesting *England*, or embroiling *Elizabeth* in her Government.

I have dwelt the longer on Queen *Elizabeth*'s Conduct, with Relation to this Marriage of *Mary* Queen of *Scots*, as it can neither be reconciled to true Honour or Policy. She first proposes the Earl of *Leicester* to her as a Husband, to prevent her Marriage with the Arch-Duke *Charles*, to whom Queen *Elizabeth* had strong Inclinations; and finding *Leicester* was not agreeable to *Mary*, she thereupon sends the Lord *Darnley* covertly to engage her Affections, and keep her from contracting any foreign Alliance by Matrimony. Finding this Scheme take, she endeavours all that possibly she can to thwart its coming to Perfection, as she had much rather have seen her Favourite *Leicester* in Possession of the *Scotch* Crown than *Darnley*; especially as she knew the latter would encrease

Mary's Influence in that Kingdom, and give her a strong Claim to the Crown of *England*. This inconsistent Behaviour, on such a ticklish Point as the Marriage of a Sovereign Queen, who was likely to be her Successor, could be no Way honourable in Queen *Elizabeth*, neither could the Preference she gave *Leicester* be agreeable to true Policy; Lord *Darnley*, by Birth, having such a strong Claim to the Crowns of both Kingdoms, as might have enabled him, upon Queen *Elizabeth's* Demise without Issue, and the Queen of *Scots* chusing to reside in either Nation, to have gained a strong Party, and have raised violent Commotions in the other, if not to obtain Possession of the Sovereign Authority.

But to proceed on our History:—Soon after the Celebration of her Marriage, Queen *Mary* sent an Embassy to *England*, to notify the same in Form to Queen *Elizabeth*; and to assure the Court of *London* of both her's and the King's fixed and firm Resolution, to cultivate the most perfect Peace and Friendship with *England*. But such was the Haughtiness of *Elizabeth*, in return to this courteous Notification and amicable Message, that in about two Months after she sent *Tamworth*, one of the Gentlemen of her Bed-Chamber, to Queen *Mary*, to make an arrogant and imperious Demand of *Henry* Lord *Darnley*, now King of *Scotland*, and of his Father the Earl of *Lenox*, requiring them to be sent back, as Natives and Subjects of *England*: Next, she insisted that Queen *Mary* should pardon and restore *Murray*, and all the other Rebel Lords that had associated to prevent her Marriage: And, Thirdly, she charged the Queen of *Scots*, in a very peremptory and commanding Manner, to take care to preserve the Peace subsisting between both Kingdoms. This arbitrary and insulting Embassy, which offered such an open Indignity to the Crown of
Scotland,

Scotland, was too notorious for even *Camden*, Queen *Elizabeth's* Historian, to conceal; and it also was acknowledged by the best Writers of *English* History in that Age. However, Queen *Mary* had too much Regard to the Dignity of her Crown, to admit the *English* Ambassador, charged with such an insulting Message, to any Audience or Access to her Royal Presence: But ordering him to communicate his Message, in Writing, to her Secretary, she, in the same Manner, returned her Answer to *Tamworth*, the Ambassador, to be delivered by him to his Mistress the Queen of *England*.

The Substance of Queen *Mary's* Answer to this arbitrary Message was, That she had previously notified to the Queen of *England* her Resolution to marry Lord *Darnley*, and had likewise acquainted her since with the Consummation of the Marriage; whereby she had complied to Queen *Elizabeth's* former Request, to marry a Native of *England*. She assured her, that neither the King nor herself should ever do, or attempt, any Thing to disturb or break the Peace with *England*; on the contrary, that on all Occasions, they should manifest a hearty and sincere Disposition to enter into all pacifick Measures, conducive to the establishing the most lasting and advantageous Peace to both Kingdoms: Lastly, she intreated the Queen of *England*, not to dictate to her how to deal with, or govern her rebellious Subjects; nor to afford them her Countenance or Protection.—By this haughty affrontful Message, and mild placable Answer, the Temperament and Dispositions of the two Queens may be as plainly discerned, as from any of the most notable Circumstances in their Histories.

Queen *Elizabeth*, being willing to justify herself for protecting and supporting the *Scotch* Rebel Lords, replied on that Head, that Queen *Mary* had

had received into her Protection *Yaxly*, *Standon*, and *Walsh*, *English* Rebels and Fugitives, and *O'Neil*, an *Irish* outlawed Papist, and with them had entered into a Confederacy with the Pope, in support of their Catholick Faith. — But notwithstanding this Assertion of *Elizabeth*, it could not be made appear that Queen *Mary* had any secret Connection with these Exiles; all that could be affirmed with Veracity, was, that they had been permitted to shelter and conceal themselves in *Scotland*. But if it was faulty and unworthy a crown'd Head, to allow any Refuge for Outlaws and Criminals in their Dominions, it was certainly much more culpable in Queen *Elizabeth* to follow so corrupt an Example; and to improve on it, by setting one powerful Faction of the Nobility in *Scotland* against another, and abetting them in cutting each other's Throats. Such Proceedings not being founded on Reason, nor moral Honesty, can never be approved of by good Men in political Conduct.

We have before taken Notice, that the chief Promoter of the Marriage between Queen *Mary* and Lord *Darnley*, was *David Rizio*, her Secretary. This *Rizio* was but of mean Extraction, and arrived in *Scotland* with the *Savoy* Ambassador, in Quality of one of his Band of Musick, where being a skilful Performer, and the Queen a great Admirer of Musical Harmony, he soon became taken Notice of at Court, and procured her Majesty's Favour. After this, he had the Addresses to obtain of her to entrust him with the Writing of her *French*, *Italian*, and other foreign Letters; which leading him into the Secret of all her Majesty's Correspondence Abroad, he became so necessary to her, that she was obliged to raise him to the Post of one of the Secretaries of State.

This Preferment of *Rizio* occasioned great Un-easiness at Court, and disgusted many of the *Scotch* Nobility.

Nobility. However, as he had been an active Promoter of Lord *Darnley's* Marriage with the Queen, it procured him to be in high Favour with both their Majesties, and, at the same Time, created him many Enemies; particularly the Earl of *Murray*, and his firm Friend the Earl of *Morton*, then Chancellor, both of whom owed *Rizio* an irreconcilable Hatred: And Earl *Morton* being a long-headed Man, determined to bring about his Friend *Murray's* Restoration from Exile, by him and his Confidants exciting Divisions between the King and Queen; and to accomplish their Design by the Overthrow of *Rizio*, who, since his Exaltation, had behaved with the most arrogant Haughtiness to the Chancellor, and other great Officers of State.

About this Time there happened a little domestick Quarrel between the King and the Queen, upon a small Punctilio of Formality; and the Earl of *Morton* immediately caught at the Opportunity of fomenting and increasing the Misunderstanding between them, by privately exciting the Queen to assume the sole Execution of all Acts of Sovereignty; and, at the same Time, to instill in the young King's Mind a strong Jealousy and Hatred of *Rizio*, as the only Adviser of the Queen, his Consort, to all the Indignities offered him. These Arts so enflamed the King's Breast to Rage and Resentment, that he meditated the deepest Revenge against *David Rizio*; and, at length, engaged him in Association with the Earl of *Morton*, the Lords *Ruthwen* and *Lindsay*, and several others, for cutting off *Rizio*; whose View therein was not so much out of Regard to any Service to the King, as to make Way for the Return and Restoration of the Earl of *Murray*, and the other exiled Noblemen.—This Conduct of the Earl of *Morton*, in order to serve some indirect State-Purposes, shewed him capable of

of the most diabolical Policy ; and manifested the Weakness of King *Henry*, in being so easily drawn into an Engagement, the Result of which could only terminate to his Dishonour.

To prevent any Disclosure of the Conspiracy, it was agreed that their Design should be put in Execution the next Night after the Signature of the Bond of Association. Accordingly, on *Saturday Evening, March 9, 1566*, the Queen being at Supper in her Chamber with the Countess of *Argyle*, and *David Rizio* likewise at Supper at a Side-board in the same Room, the King entered the Anti-chamber, accompanied with the rest of the Associates : When the Lord *Ruthwen*, and several others, entered the Queen's Chamber, and seizing upon *Rizio*, drew him out of the Queen's Presence. She immediately got up from Table, and, following them into the next Room, stepped in between the King and *David*, who, to save himself, clung fast by her Waist ; thinking, that as she was very big, and near her Time, they would do nothing, in the King's Presence, that might endanger her Life by frightening her. But the Conspirators disengaging *Rizio* from the Queen, drew him thence, into an adjoining Gallery, where they all wounded him, and then left him dead in the Porch leading to her Majesty's Apartments.

The Queen being apprehensive of the fatal Consequences of this Event, and thoroughly sensible how deeply it would affect her Reputation, and afford a Handle for her Enemies to reproach her, burst out into Tears, and was in a very great Agony ; bitterly upbraiding Lord *Ruthwen* for his Behaviour. But, upon sending one of her Maids of Honour to enquire about *David Rizio*, she returned, with Notice to her Majesty, that she had seen his dead Body : Whereupon the Queen, wiping the Tears from her Eyes, let fall this weak Expression,

pression; “ No more Tears ;—I shall find out a
“ proper Resentment.”

The Noise of this Murder alarmed the whole City of *Edinburgh*, the Citizens being anxious for the Safety of their Majesties ; and it was not till the King and Queen shewed themselves from the Palace-Windows, that the Multitude assembled there, on this Occasion, could be appeased. The Assassination of *Rizio* was not only ill-concerted and ill-timed, but also executed in such an unpolite brutal Manner, as gave the highest Offence to the Queen, who looked on it as the greatest Indignity upon her Honour, as, by the Manner of executing it, the People were induced to receive some very disadvantageous Impressions against her, to the Prejudice of her Character ; and she resented this Enterprize so strongly, that she was never afterwards thoroughly reconciled to the King, and utterly detested all the Accomplices in the Murder.

—Indeed, this Expedient of cutting off *Rizio* in such a black Manner, did not shew his Majesty to be endued with any great Share of Policy ; and, had the Projectors thereof exerted their Revenge in a more artful and polite Manner, they might, as *David Rizio* was at the Head of the Administration, have found Means, either to have him arraigned for Misdemeanors, or exposed him to the Rage and Fury of the Populace ; whereby he must inevitably have fallen a Victim to the Resentment of the Multitude, by whom he was very much hated : And, by proceeding in this Manner, the King, and the Nobility who assisted him, would have prevented that indelible Blot, which this infamous Action fixed on their Conduct and Character.

The Earl of *Murray*, taking Advantage of the Consternation and Confusion that the Court, and almost all the Nation were in, on Account of this

Murder, returned to *Edinburgh* the third Day after this disastrous Event; and *Morton* so ordered Matters, that the Queen found herself obliged to send for him, and be reconciled. After which, her Majesty retired, for a few Days, to *Dunbar*, to compose herself, whither his Majesty accompanied her; having first issued a Proclamation, disavowing his giving any Consent or Order for the cutting off *Rizio*, and strictly ordering all concerned in the Murder to be apprehended, in order to take their Trial. Though this Desertion of the Conspirators, and the Keeness his Majesty shewed, in order to bring them to Justice, was a Step taken by him to re-establish himself in the Queen's Love and Affection, to whom he had the Weakness to confess, secretly, his having complied with the Assassimators to cut off *Rizio*, in order to restore *Murray*, by the Persuasion of *Morton* the Chancellor; yet this abject, false, and ill-judged Behaviour, lost him the Affection of all Ranks, and rendered him contemptible, even in the Eyes of the common People.

The King now bore a mortal Hatred to *Morton* and all his Accomplices, for having led him into so scandalous an Affair: And *Morton*, with the chief of the Conspirators, finding the King so implacable against them, directly fled into *England*; and the Lord *Rutbven* died at *Newcastle*, by a Relapse of the Fever he was fallen into. Several of the Accomplices in this Murder were apprehended, tried and executed; and those that had fled were out-lawed, and had their Estates seized on for the Use of the Crown. However, by the vigorous Intercession of the Earls of *Argyle* and *Huntley*, who were of *Murray's* Party, the Earl of *Morton* and Lord *Lindsay* were pardoned the Winter following, and returned again to *Scotland*.

As

As the King, notwithstanding all his earnest and most sincere Endeavours, by Confession, Submission, and otherways, could not, after this fatal Event, obtain any Reconciliation with the Queen, his Hatred against *Murray* became the more inveterate; and he could not forbear manifesting it so openly, that *Murray* found he had no other Way left to provide for his own Safety, than by fomenting the Breach between the King and Queen, to that Degree as to render it irreparable: In order to which, he put in Practise every Art that Invention could suggest, to fix himself in the Queen's Favour, and encrease her Hatred to the King.

Though the Queen took upon her to use the King very haughtily on this Occasion, nevertheless, he continued as doting as she was wise, witty, and cunning: And through his uxurious and feminine Submission to her, was so weak as to intimate his mortal Hatred to the Earl of *Murray*; and also acquainted her, that he could not be easy until he had cut him off. *Murray* being at this Time quite reconciled, and in great Confidence with his Sister Queen *Mary*, it is very probable that she gave him a Hint of the King's Disposition toward him; by which *Murray* became alarmed, and immediately determined to prevent and counteract the King's Design: And being thoroughly sensible of the Danger he was in, he resolved to be the more mischievous, active, and diligent in accomplishing the King's Overthrow; wherefore he instantly set to work all such Agents, Mines and Engines, as he knew were suitable to his base Purpose. The first Implements he made use of were the Earl of *Bothwell* and one *Lethington*, or *Liddington*, whom he knew fitted to execute any Villainy. *Lethington* was a Man in great Regard with the Queen, and had twice been entrusted by her with an Embassy to Queen *Elizabeth*: He was

completely Master of what he undertook on this Occasion, which was so to insinuate himself by Lies and Flattery to his Mistress, as to promote her Dissention and Separation from the King: As for *Bothwell*, he was even ready for Blood, Violence, and any base Practises that could accomplish whatever he took in Hand. And here the Earl of *Murray* shewed the most abject Meanness of Spirit, by entering into any secret, important and dangerous Connections with *Bothwell*; the whole Tenor of whose former Conduct (in Conjunction with the Earl of *Huntley*, and other Associates) had been a connected Scene of Practices to disgrace, destroy, and utterly overthrow *Murray*, and all his Friends. Now for the Earl of *Murray*, who had been one of the *Lords of the Congregation for Reforming of Religion*, to join with such a Man as *Bothwell*, in so diabolical an Enterprize, discovered *Reformation Principles*, which (as a certain Writer has well observed) wanted very much to be reformed.

The Queen being now far advanced in her Pregnancy, retired into the Castle of *Edinburgh* to lye-in; where, on the 19th of *June*, she was brought to-bed of a Son *. In the mean while *Murray* entered into a written Association with *Bothwell* and *Lethington*, under their Hands and Seals, to cut off the King, and get the sole Management of the Queen into their Hands; *Murray* and *Lethington* positively articuling therein, that upon the King's being made away, they would use their utmost Interest and Endeavours to promote *Bothwell's* Marriage with the Queen: And *Murray* also farther engaged, to make *Bothwell* the more sanguine in the Cause, that he would get his Divorce from his present Lady to be firmly established.

* *James* the VIth of Scotland, and Iſt of England; who afterwards succeeded to the Crowns of both Kingdoms.

This black Enterprize is testified not only in *Camden*, *Spotwood*, and *Strangeway*, but also by those Historians that favoured Queen *Mary*, and other good and unquestionable Authorities.

When the Queen was able to go abroad again, she retired, as it is thought by the Instigation of the three Confederates, to *Alloway*, a Seat of the Earl of *Marr*'s, within a few Miles of *Stirling*; whither the King following her, and expecting to be admitted to his Royal Consort, was denied all Access, and so insulted and neglected by her Court, that he found himself obliged to withdraw. Here *Lethington*, by his base and flattering Arts, so insinuated himself into the Queen's Affections, that he took upon him to dictate to her the absolute Necessity of a Separation from her Husband; urging, that she ought not to think herself in perfect Safety 'till she had got rid of him: But the Queen, whenever pressed on this Head, constantly declared her Aversion to any such Propositions, and earnestly begged that she might not be enticed to do any Thing to the Prejudice of her Reputation and Honour. Nevertheless, through the Instigation of *Murray* and his Accomplices, she was prevailed upon to restore the Earl of *Morton* and Lord *Lindsay* from Banishment, both whom had been concerned in the Murder of her Favourite *Rizio*, in order, as they urged, to have the whole Burden and Guilt of *Rizio*'s Death upon the King; and thereby to satisfy the World, and vindicate her Conduct towards him, for such an heinous Affront as had been put upon her, by the Manner in which *Rizio* had been cut off. Thus the Queen having hardly any about her but the King's Enemies, and being influenced in every Thing by their pernicious Councils, together with *Bothwell*'s perceiving, by her Regard to him, that nothing but the King's Life hindered his full Enjoyment of her Majesty;
all

all which dismal Symptoms evidently foretokened the King's approaching unhappy Fate.

In the Month of *August* the young Prince was baptized, according to the *Romish* Form, in the Chapel-Royal of *Stirling*, by the Name of *James*: And though the Procession at the Baptism, and the Rejoicings and Entertainments at the Queen's Court for several Days afterwards, were very magnificent, yet the King was not admitted to be present at any of them. Whereupon, the Earl of *Lenox*, being then at *Glasgow*, and hearing of the many gross Insults put upon the King his Son, sent secretly for him to come thither: But he had hardly proceeded a Mile on his Journey from *Stirling*, when he was suddenly taken ill with a violent Pain all over his Body; and, at length, Irruptions of a purple and bluish Colour, with Blisters full of Corruption, appeared in different Parts of him. Tho' he found himself in most exquisite Pain and great Disorder, he, nevertheless, resolutely continued his Journey to *Glasgow*; and, upon his Arrival at his Father's House, the Physicians, who were called to attend his Majesty, declared their Opinion, that the King had been poisoned.

The King continued dangerously ill for some Time at *Glasgow*, while the Queen lived in splendor at *Stirling*: However, at length, by the Youth, Vigour and Strength of his Majesty's Constitution, he recovered from his Illness, and thereby disconcerted all the Measures of his Enemies. In the Month of *January* following the Queen, to save Appearances with the World, and, if possible, to whiten her blotted Reputation, came to *Glasgow* to visit her Royal Consort, who yet remained in a very weak and sickly Condition; but, being too fond of her wandering Charms, he received her with the greatest Affection, Love, and Joy.

Soon

Soon after the Baptization of the young Prince, the Earl of *Bedford*, Queen *Elizabeth*'s Ambassador, interposed, according to his Mistress's Instructions, with Queen *Mary*, to compromise all Matters between her and the King, in the most prudent, friendly, and affectionate Manner: But, however, Queen *Mary* complied with her Request only so far as suited her Inclination. Nevertheless, she treated the Ambassador with the greatest Respect; and, to convince Queen *Elizabeth* of her good Inclinations, wrote her Word, That though she was undoubted Heir to the Crown of *England*, notwithstanding the many frivolous Objections that had been raised against her Claim; yet she engaged, on the Faith of a Queen, never to urge a further Declaration of her Title; but, during her Life, to assist Queen *Elizabeth*, and adhere to her against all living. This Declaration is avowed by *Camden* in his Annals.

When Queen *Mary* made the Visit to her Husband at *Glasgow*, she was just returned from *Tullibardine*; where she is reported, by some Historians, to have exercised such Familiarities with *Bothwell*, as made them appear void of Shame or Decency, even to the common People: However, as such Behaviour is quite inconsistent with the Wisdom and Prudence that the Queen commonly shewed when left to her own Discretion, we shall not rely upon the Report; nor upon those Letters that are printed in *Anderson's* Collections, and said to be wrote by Queen *Mary*, when at *Glasgow*, to *Bothwell*; which, if authentick, fully evince their having concerted the Murder of the King together: —But there seems to want a sufficient Proof of those Letters being genuine.

King *Henry* was so fond of his Queen, that though he had not fully recovered his Health, he resolved to go with her to *Edinburgh*; where, as the

the Air of the Palace-Royal was not judged so ferene as that of the Suburbs, Apartments were prepared for him in an antient House by the City Walls, which had a Back-Gate leading into the Fields. And on the 20th of *January*, 1567, the King arrived at his new Lodgings from *Glasgow*, where he was received by Queen *Mary* with all apparent Marks of Love and Affection.

On the *Saturday* and *Sunday* Nights before the Murder, the Queen lay in a Chamber underneath that of her Husband, and attended both those Days close upon him: But on the *Monday* Morning she came to her Palace at *Holy-rood-House*, where she continued till the Evening, when she returned again to the King, with whom she stayed till past Ten o'Clock at Night, and then she came back again to the Palace.

Upon the Queen's Return from her Husband, *Bothwell* was in private with her Majesty, when they had a long and secret Conference; after which, at about twelve at Night, *Bothwell* went out from the Palace disguised, and the Queen retired to Bed. *Bothwell*, on his leaving the Palace, went directly to the King's Lodgings, accompanied by Sir *James Balfour*; where they met *Hay of Talo*, *Hepburn* of *Bolton*, and *Bothwell's* three Domesticks, *Dalgeish*, *Powrie* and *Paris*, alias *Nicholas Hubert*, the Frenchman, who had been Valet de Chambre to *Bothwell* many Years; these latter having arrived first at the King's House, in order to prepare the Bags of Gun-Powder, Matches, and Portmanteaus, in Readiness for the Execution of their Design.

Upon *Bothwell's* Arrival at the King's Lodgings, the Portmanteaus were delivered to him by the other Conspirators; and he, with Sir *James Balfour*, *Patrick Wilson*, and some others, went directly to the King's Bed-Chamber, where his Majesty lay, attended only by *Taylor*, his Body Footman,

Footman, who lay in a different Bed in the same Room, both of whom were immediately strangled by *Bothwell* and his Companions; after which, they threw the two Bodies out naked into the Garden, and then *Bothwell* returned to the Palace, attended by *Dalglish* his Servant, leaving *Powrie*, *Talo*, and *Hegburn*, to blow up the House. *Bothwell* was so uneasy in his Mind, that he could not sleep, waiting with the greatest Impatience to hear the Explosion; and his Anxiety was such, that he dispatched *Dalglish*, his Servant, to know the Occasion of their Delay; who returning again, informed him, that all was ready, and would be finished directly; and, at that very Instant, the Explosion of the House's blowing up was heard.

The Queen, and all the Palace, were dreadfully disturbed at the Noise and Shock. Her Majesty directly sent for *Bothwell*, and desired him to go into the City and learn what was the Matter; who, on his Return, related, with seeming Wonder and Surprize, that the King's House was blown up with Gun-Powder, and that the Force of the Explosion had carried his Majesty's dead Body into the Garden, where it then lay. The Nobility, and all the Ladies that had assembled with the Queen, on this Occasion, left her Majesty and retired. The Queen is reported to have appeared quite calm and composed, and heard *Bothwell's* Relation without Emotion: He remained with her Majesty alone for some Time, and then went to Bed.

At the Time of blowing up the House, there were two other Servants belonging to their Majesties therein, viz. *Nelson* and *Symmonds*, who lay in a Gallery on the same Floor with the King, but South of his Majesty's Apartment; and with them lay *Taylor's* Boy, who was strangled with his Master. This Gallery was parted from the main Body of the House by a strong Party Stone-Wall,

through which was a Door of Communication to the King's Bed-Chamber; and this Party-Wall saved them in a great Measure: For when the Body of the House, where the King lay, was blown up, they were awakened in great Terror and Surprize; their Cloaths were gone, and themselves almost suffocated, being covered with the Rubbish and Ruins. However, they found Means to get on the Walls, where they stood naked until some Cloaths were brought them, when, by the Help of Ladders, they came down.

The next Day *Bothwell*, in order to screen himself from Infamy, undertook, with the Earl of *Argyle*, to call in several Persons of Distinction, to make Enquiry concerning the King's Murder, and to discover the Assassins. But when they proceeded on the Examination, they found several Persons of Integrity, who, upon Oath, declared much more than *Bothwell* was willing to hear; wherefore the Enquiry was broke off in a very abrupt Manner.

This Proceeding, and other concurring Circumstances, made a strong Impression on the People, of *Bothwell's* being guilty of the Murder, and that the Queen was accessary thereto: Insomuch that her Majesty, for her own Vindication, found it absolutely necessary to bring *Bothwell* to a Trial, and the 10th of *April* was appointed for the Day of its coming on; against which Time, the Earl of *Lenox*, the deceas'd King's Father, was summoned to appear and arraign *Bothwell*. But Matters were so managed, that the Earl of *Lenox* should not have sufficient Time to find out and collect his Evidence; neither could he venture to appear in Safety, as he was attended with but very few Men, and *Bothwell* had entered the City of *Edinburgh*, at the Head of a numerous Train of Friends, Followers, and Adherents, accompanied with a large Body of armed Men, with evident Design to cut
off

off the Earl of *Lenox* and his Friends, if they had ventured to approach the City. Wherefore, the Earl of *Lenox* wrote to Queen *Mary*, praying, for several weighty and important Reasons, that the Trial might be deferred: But not being able to prevail with her Majesty, he sent *Robert Cunningham*, Esq; with full Powers, to appear in Court as his Proxy, and there to request a Delay of the Trial, till he could prepare his Evidence, and attend in Person. Notwithstanding this, *Bothwell's* Trial was brought on before a Jury of his own packing; when, by a designed Flaw in the Indictment, which laid the Murder a Day sooner than it was committed, and the Earl of *Lenox's* not appearing, *Bothwell* was acquitted.

This Affair was so artfully managed, that *Bothwell* was cleared three Days before the Meeting of the Parliament, which was called only to promote *Bothwell's* Marriage with the Queen. For although her Majesty affected Mourning and Retirement upon the King's Death, yet she signed a Contract of Marriage with *Bothwell* five Days before his Trial came on, and not quite two Months after the Murder of her Husband. At the Meeting of Parliament, *Bothwell* procured a numerous Association of both Lords and Commons, who, by their Signature, agreed to promote and support his Marriage with the Queen; which being the only Thing that was wanted, the Parliament was prorogued, and the Queen retired to *Stirling*.

Bothwell managed Matters so dextrously, that he was publicly married to the Queen, about the Middle of the Month following; notwithstanding all the strong Solicitations of the King of *France*, and the Queen of *England*, to the contrary. But this Marriage was no sooner solemnized, than the Chief of the Nobility abandoned the Court; and repairing to *Stirling*, there entered into an Associ-

ation, for the Preservation of the young King's Person out of *Bothwell's* Hands ; who was now created Duke of *Rothsay* and the *Orkneys*, and had found Means, some Weeks before his Marriage with the Queen, to obtain a Divorce from his Wife, the Lady *Jane Gordon*, under Pretext of too near Consanguinity, criminal Behaviour and Adultery.

As the Queen and *Bothwell* perceived a Storm gathering against them, and that the Confederate Lords would do their utmost in order to separate them, or else to force the young King out of their Hands ; therefore her Majesty thought proper immediately to levy what Forces she could, whereupon the Lords did the same ; and, at length, both Armies met together at *Carberry-Hill*, near to *Dalkeith*, that of the Lords being headed by the Earl of *Morton*, and several other of *Murray's* Friends. As for *Murray* himself, he was then in *France*, having obtained Leave to go thither, that behind the Curtain he might the more effectually promote the Queen's and *Bothwell's* Overthrow, whom he now found exposed to the Hatred of the chief Part of the Kingdom. It is evident from the Authority of the most credible Historians of those Times, that *Murray* had a Share in *Bothwell's* Guilt, which they prove by the following Testimonies ; *viz. First*, By his Reconciliation to him who had been his most inveterate Enemy, about a Year before the King's Death. *Secondly*, By his entering into an Association with him, and others, under their joint Hands and Seals, to procure the Queen in Marriage for *Bothwell*, upon the King's Removal or Divorce, which they were to endeavour to accomplish. *Thirdly*, By his and *Morton's* recommending the Earl *Bothwell* to the Queen for a Husband, immediately upon their coming to Court after the King's Murder. *Fourthly*, By the Confessions of the Regicides that were executed for this notorious Fact ;
who

who declared that they understood from *Bothwell*, who employed them, that this black Affair was undertaken by the Direction and Approbation of the Earls of *Murray* and *Morton*. And, *lastly*, by the Protestations; and Declaration upon Oath, of the two Earls of *Argyle* and *Huntley*; (the latter of whom drew up the Contract of Marriage between *Bothwell* and the Queen) who jointly declared, that in their Consciences they were thoroughly perswaded that *Murray*, *Morton*, and *Liddington*, were the Authors and Contrivers of the King's Death: And the Reasons which they give, fully evince the whole of *Murray's* and *Liddington's* criminal Practices with the Queen, in order to excite her Hatred to her Husband, and their Confederacy with *Bothwell*, as the only Instrument they thought fitting for such an execrable Undertaking.—These Declarations are to be found extant, both in *Camden's* Annals, and the Records of the Privy Council. But tho' it appears that *Murray* had such a Hand in this deep Tragedy, yet, to escape any Imputation, he had the Cunning to go to his Seat about fifteen Hours before the Murder was committed; which blinded the Eyes of the People, from perceiving that he had any Concern therein.

Now altho' there had been such a strong Confederacy in this black Affair, between the Earls of *Murray*, *Morton*, *Huntley*, *Liddington*, &c. to procure the Queen in Marriage for *Bothwell*, yet they never thought themselves in Safety, or in cordial Friendship with him: And therefore having fulfilled their Promises, they raised such an Association against him, as was almost certain would prove his Overthrow: And as the Nobility who joined them on this Occasion, were mostly *Murray's* Friends and Confidants, he, though in *France*, continued animating them to those vigorous Resolutions, that were pursued, and gave all possible Encouragement to

to their raising that Army with which they met the Queen's Forces at *Carberry-Hill*; where both Armies were upon the Point of engaging, when the *French* Ambassador rode up to that of the Lords, and endeavoured, by Mediation, to prevent any Effusion of Blood.

He proposed to the Nobility, that there should be a mutual Forgiveness and Oblivion of the present Infurrection, and all that had passed therein: But the Earl of *Morton*, in the Name of the rest of the Confederates, replied, that they had not taken Arms against the Queen, but in order to bring the Murderer of the King to just Punishment; and, therefore, if her Majesty would either deliver him up, or depart from him, they were ready to manifest their steady Loyalty and Affection to her. This Conference between the two Armies continued for some Time; during which, *Bothwell* rode out of the Lines in Front, and offered to fight any one of the Lords Army; but his Challenge being accepted by *Murray* of *Tullibarden*, Lord *Lindsay*, and some others, he declined the Engagement, by pretending it was dishonourable for him to fight with his Inferiors.

As the Queen found that the Lords were resolute to attack her, and that the common Men in her Army were averse to fighting, she began to provide for *Bothwell's* Escape; and therefore sent for *Kirkaldy* of *Grange*, from among the Lords, in order to make her Terms with the Nobility; whom she took care to hold in Conference, till such Time as she judged that *Bothwell* was got safe off; when she sent him to acquaint the Nobility, that she was ready to come over to them, and go with them: And, on her Arrival in their Army, she express'd herself to them in these Terms.

My Lords,

‘ I AM come to you out of no Fear I have of
 ‘ my Life, nor from any Doubts and Appre-
 ‘ hensions of the Hazard of a Victory; but to pre-
 ‘ vent the Effusion of Christian Blood, and with a
 ‘ full Resolution to commit myself to the Care of
 ‘ my Nobility; to yield to you, and to be directed
 ‘ by you for the future, in all my Counsels and
 ‘ Deliberations, trusting in your Regard and Af-
 ‘ fection to me, as to your rightful Queen and
 ‘ Princess.’

The Nobility received her Majesty with great Marks of Affection and Duty; but, upon her requesting to go and confer with the *Hamilton's*, the Lords would not comply with it; at which she testified her Resentment by some sharp Expressions. That Night the Queen was brought to *Edinburgh*, and lodged in the Mayor's Apartment: And the next Day, being *June 16, 1567*, under Pretence of being afraid of a Rescue from the *Hamilton* Family, the Lords, in the Evening, conveyed her Majesty to the Castle of *Loch-Levin*; and deliver'd her, by *Morton's* Direction, into the Care of her greatest Enemy, the Earl of *Murray's* Mother. This Behaviour of the Nobility to the Queen their Sovereign, by committing her into close and dismal Confinement, as soon as they had got her in Custody, was both base and treacherous: For had they been sincere in their Declaration, of taking up Arms only to bring *Bothwell* to Justice, they might have executed their Point, now that they had their Queen among them, without making any Infringement upon her Royal Prerogative.

Bothwell, after his Flight, remained secreted for some Days in his Castle at *Dunbar*, in order to prepare Matters for his further Escape; and to
 secure

secure some Papers and Effects of Consequence, that were in the Custody of Sir *James Balfour*, his Assistant Regicide, whom he had made Lieutenant-Governor of the Castle of *Edinburgh*, which Place he had hitherto maintained in the Queen's Name, against the Confederate Lords, though he was now upon the Point of Capitulating, to secure Terms to himself. But *Dalglish*, *Bothwell's* trusty Servant, venturing to carry off his Papers and Effects from thence, was intercepted and taken Prisoner; and on him was found a Box of Letters from Queen *Mary* to *Bothwell*, written with her Majesty's own Hand.

Finding himself now deserted by his Friends, and almost surrounded with Enemies, the Torrent full against him, and large Rewards issued for his Apprehension, *Bothwell* directly made his Escape by Sea, with three small Ships, to the *Orkneys*; but being denied all Access into *Kirkwall* Castle by the Governor, and understanding that *Kirkaldie* of *Grange* was in pursuit of him, with five stout Ships, he found himself necessitated to put to Sea again. *Kirkaldie* would have certainly come up with him, had not his Pilot, by Mistake, run his Ships on the Rocks, whereby the largest was lost, and the rest in Danger; which gave *Bothwell* an Opportunity of getting off: But putting in on the Coast of *Norway*, and being there known by some *Scotch* Merchants, he was immediately seized on, by Order of the King of *Denmark*, and conveyed to a dismal Prison, where he remained for ten Years, often declaring, and persisting in it, that he had executed the whole Scheme of the King's Murder, in Compliance with the System concerted by *Murray*, *Morton*, *Liddington*, and himself; always vindicating Queen *Mary* from having had any Hand in it: He, at length, grew delirious under his Confinement, and, at last, died a most miserable Death,

Death, being universally unregretted, hated, and despised.

Bothwell, being secured in Banishment, the Lords, by Compulsions and Threatnings, forced the Queen to resign the Government into the Hands of her Son *James*, then scarce thirteen Months old. They appointed the Earl of *Murray* to be Regent during the King's Minority; and on the 29th of *July*, 1567, the young King was crowned and anointed at *Stirling* Church, by the Bishop of *Orkney*: The Coronation Sermon was preached by *John Knox*, the Chief of the Reforming Divines; and the Earl of *Morton* and Lord *Hume* took the usual Coronation Oath for the King. Thus, in about five Weeks Time after her going over to the Lords, Queen *Mary* found herself stript of all Power and Dominion over her Subjects.

None of the Foreign Ministers, that were then in *Scotland*, approved of these Proceedings; neither did the *English* or *French* Ambassadors attend the Solemnity of the young King's Coronation. And Queen *Elizabeth*, to her immortal Honour be it recorded, made strong Expostulations by Sir *Nicholas Throgmorton*, her Ambassador, to the *Scotch* Nobility, concerning their Behaviour to the Queen, and proposed to them to have her set at Liberty; that the Safety of the young Prince should be provided for, and that they should concert how the Regicides might be brought to condign Punishment. But notwithstanding all *Throgmorton's* Entreaties, he could neither obtain the Release of the Queen, or could procure having any Access to her. However, Queen *Mary* found Means to convey a Letter, in her own Hand-Writing, to Queen *Elizabeth*; complaining of her hard Treatment, and declaring that all the Instruments, Deeds, and Writings she had signed since her Confinement, had been extorted from her by Compulsion.

Murray, when he heard how Things had been carried in *Scotland*, and that thereby there was an open Way paved for his Elevation to Power and Government in that Kingdom, directly left *France*, and took his Rout for *Scotland*, by the Way of *London*, in order to operate upon *Elizabeth*, and detach her Affection from her Sister-Queen in Distress. By dissembling with the *English* Queen, and influencing her Ministry, *Murray* met with a very handsome Reception at the Court of *London*; and having done his Business there, he proceeded in Triumph to *Edinburgh*, where he was met by the Nobility, who had procured him his Nomination to the Regency. A few Days after his Arrival, he paid a Visit to the imprisoned Queen, his Sister; but so far from administering to her the least Consolation in her Affliction, he proposed to her that she should be contented to remain a Prisoner for Life, and so to become of no Manner of Consequence in the Nation. Shortly after, he declared his Acceptance of the Regency, and strengthened himself therein, by obtaining a strong Bond of Association, signed by the chief of the Nobility; who thereby engaged themselves to support the King's Interest and Government, against all Opposition.

By these Means the *Hamiltons*, *Huntley*, and the rest of the Queen's Friends, who resented her cruel Usage and Confinement, were greatly dispirited; and though they entered upon some Resolutions for rescuing her, yet the Opposition was so powerful, that they could not bring their Measures to bear. However, all of them, except the Earl of *Argyle*, declined having any Meetings or Interviews with the Regent, and kept themselves retired. The Court of *France*, indeed, made an Offer to join the Queen of *England*, and restore Queen *Mary* by Force: But as Queen *Elizabeth* preferred making use of pacifick Measures, there was nothing of this
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Kind attempted; and *Murray*, by exposing all the Letters and Writings taken upon *Dalglish*, in *Bothwell's* Silver Box, and sending Duplicates thereof to the Court of *London*, diverted the Queen of *England* from undertaking any Thing in Queen *Mary's* Favour.

Murray now proceeded strongly against the Regicides, and *Powry*, *Dalglish*, *Hay*, *Hepbourn*, and *Paris*, were executed; but *Patrick Wilson*, to whom *Bothwell* had committed the Care of the Castle of *Dunbar*, refused to deliver it up; yet being outlawed, he was, at length, obliged to surrender, as did Sir *James Balfour*, whom *Bothwell* had put into Possession of the Lieutenant-Governorship of *Edinburgh* Castle; but *Murray* was obliged to pay him five hundred Pounds for it, and likewise to give him the Priory of *Pittenweim*.

At the next Meeting of Parliament, all the Proceedings since *Murray* had been declared Regent, were ratified and confirmed; the Reformed Protestant Religion was established, and *Bothwell* deservedly attainted. When the Parliament broke up, *Murray* set out on a Circuit, to correct some Disorders that had been committed in the Western *Highlands*; having first dismissed his own Brother, *George Douglas*, from the Government of *Loch-Levin* Castle, on Suspicion of his shewing too much Indulgence to the imprisoned Queen. However, *Douglas* was become so engaged with Queen *Mary's* Address, Eloquence, Affability, and engaging Deportment, during the Time of her Confinement, that, out of Compassion to her Majesty, he so managed Matters with the Keepers and Guards, as to accomplish her Escape from the Castle, a few Days after he had been obliged to quit the Post of Governor; and wherein she had now been confined near eleven Months.

The News of the Queen's Escape reached *Murray* while he was holding a Court of Justice at *Glasgow*, which he could not at first credit; 'till receiving several Expresses, with the full Confirmation of Particulars, he began to concert some immediate Expedient for his own Safety, and to disconcert the Queen's Designs; who, the first Night after her Escape, lay at *Nuddrie-House*, in *West-Lothain*, and the next Day went to *Hamilton*, where she was joyfully received by Crowds of People. Here her Majesty issued out Orders for all her loving Subjects, and Friends, to repair to *Hamilton* in Arms; whereupon the Nobility, in great Numbers, flocked to join her Majesty; and even many of the Regent's Friends and chief Associates deserted him, and came over to the Queen's Standard. However, *Murray* being a Man of Resolution, was resolved, notwithstanding these Discouragements, to stand his Ground with what Forces and Friends he could collect together; which, in the whole, amounted to above 4000 Men, and a good Body of Horse.

As the Numbers that came in on the Queen's Side were daily encreasing, and she was not willing to afford *Murray* too long Time to gain Strength, she ordered her Army on the 12th of *May*, 1568, to march towards that of the Regent; and, on the 13th, he drew up his Forces, and marched to the Heath, near *Glasgow*, to receive his Enemy: When, after some Hours waiting, he perceived the Queen's Army in full March on the other Side of the River. The Queen's Army had the Superiority in Numbers, but the Regent's had the Advantage of the Ground: And in the Engagement the Queen's Horse being stronger than his, broke in upon them, and put them in great Disorder; but the Queen's Forces were so annoyed by the Regent's Artillery, and the Showers of Darts that were played upon them,
by

by the Archers in the Regent's Army, that her Infantry were routed; and the Cavalry not being able to stop their Flight, were put into Disorder: Which Advantage the Regent improving, charged so warmly with his Spears and *Danish* Axes, that the Queen's Army, being unable to recover, or rally, received that Day a total Defeat.

Her Majesty viewed the Action at about the Distance of a Mile, when perceiving the Fate of the Day, she, immediately, with Lord *Harris*, and a few Friends, made her Escape to *Kirkabright*, in *Galloway*, on the Border of *England*. From hence she dispatched *John Beaton*, her favourite Servant, to *England*, with a Ring that Queen *Elizabeth* had formerly given her, as a Token of her Love and Regard; which Pledge was to serve *Beaton* as a Credential of his coming from Queen *Mary*, to notify the Distresses she was reduced to. Queen *Elizabeth* gave *Beaton* a very favourable Reception, and ordered him to assure Queen *Mary* of her great Concern for her present unhappy Circumstances, and that she might depend upon all the good Offices, Friendship and Hospitality towards her, if she came into *England*, (as *Beaton* had informed her Queen *Mary* intended to do for Shelter and Protection) adding, moreover, that she might be certain of Welcome, and kind Reception.

Queen *Mary*, being in great Dread and Anxiety, did not think proper to wait in *Scotland* for *Beaton*'s Return; but, contrary to the Advice of her Friends, embarked, with a few Attendants, in an open Boat, and sailed for *Workinton* in *Cumberland*. On her landing there, she dispatched a Letter written in her own Hand to Queen *Elizabeth*, notifying her Arrival in *England*, in full Confidence of her Majesty's Protection and Favour; but Queen *Elizabeth*'s Answer occasioned great Sorrow and Disappointment to *Mary*: For *Sir Francis Knowles* was sent
by

by Queen *Elizabeth* to acquaint her, that it was her Majesty's Pleasure she should remove to *Carlisle*; and the Lord Lieutenant of the County was ordered to attend her thither, and see her safe into *Carlisle-Castle*, until the Merits of her Complaints should be discovered.

This shocking Answer gave *Mary* great Pain; but she now found herself constrained to obey Queen *Elizabeth's* Orders. However, she sent Lord *Harris* to her with a Letter, entreating, in the most submissive and affectionate Terms, that she might be permitted to come up to *London*, to vindicate herself to her Majesty of *England* in Person: Or, if not, that she would allow her peaceably to depart out of the Kingdom, without any Interruption. This affecting Letter, and the strong Representations that Lord *Harris* made of her Sufferings, so moved Queen *Elizabeth*, that she expressed the greatest Concern and most tender Sympathy towards Queen *Mary*, and testified her Willingness to comply with her Request. But when the Matter came to be debated in the *English* Council, which *Murray* had secretly prepossessed with Suggestions against Queen *Mary*, so many Objections were started to dismissing her from *Carlisle-Castle*, that Queen *Elizabeth* was over-borne by them; and forced, even against her Inclination, to violate her Honour and Faith, to her distressed Neighbour Queen *Mary*, by detaining her Prisoner in *England*. And the old Countess of *Lenox*, King *Henry's* Mother, being at this Time at the Court of *London*, she also strongly solicited for Queen *Mary's* being detained, and to have her tried for the Murder of her Husband. Thus Queen *Elizabeth*, being doubly pressed, was obliged to give Way to the Detainure of Queen *Mary*; and Lord *Harris* found all his Endeavours in Favour of *Mary* Queen of *Scots* rendered

rendered ineffectual, by the Influence of the *English* Council, and of the old Countess of *Lenox*.

Having traced the History of *Mary* Queen of *Scots* to this Period of her Arrival in *England*, we shall now proceed to the Discussion of some of those controverted Points, which, at our setting out, we proposed to examine. The first of these is, How far the Part acted by the *English* Queen, previous to the Flight of *Queen Mary*, was consistent with the Laws of good Neighbourhood, or can be justified by the Principles of sound Policy? — From the Evidence of the foregoing History it is very plain, that *Queen Elizabeth*, under the Sanction of encouraging the Reformation, abetted, supported, and protected the Protesting Rebel *Scotch* Lords; who, on Pretence that the Reformed Religion was in Danger, by the Queen's Marriage with Lord *Darnley*, (tho' a Protestant) incited the People of *Scotland* to open Sedition and Rebellion; by taking up Arms, assembling in Bodies, appointing their Commanding Officers, and openly declaring they would oppose the Marriage of their Sovereign with all their Force:—For designing Men can embrace any Opportunity of making Religion a Cover to their ambitious Views and Practices, as the most effectual Means to inflame the Populace, and excite tumultuary Proceedings.

The two Letters before quoted are a corroborating Proof with History, that, during these Broils in *Scotland*, *Queen Elizabeth* assembled a strong Force on the Borders, in order to support the Rebels, or be in Readiness to act otherwise, as Occasion required. And every impartial Mind must needs judge, that when two neighbouring Potentates live in the most open State of Friendship and mutual Alliance, for either of them to abet or encourage, either directly or indirectly, any Broils, Rebellion, or Disturbance, in the Territories of the other,

other, on any Account whatsoever, must needs be a manifest Violation of the Laws of good Neighbourhood, which obliges them, in all such Cases, to act as they would be done unto themselves. And the only Way that Princes can conduct themselves with Honour, in Case of a Rebellion among the Subjects of a neighbouring Power, unless they embrace the Sovereign's Part, is to interpose with their good Offices by way of Mediation; in order to compromise all Disputes, and settle Differences in so amicable a Manner as to prevent the Effusion of Blood.

The Behaviour of the *English* Queen, on this Occasion, can no more be reconciled to the Principles of true Policy, than to the Laws of good Neighbourhood. For in Case of an Attack on her Dominions, by *France*, *Spain*, or any other Foreign Power, the *Scots*, being a hardy and warlike Nation, and inhabiting the same Island, were the properest and readiest People to have been called in for Succour, at all Times; therefore they ought not to have been weakened, by the Incitement of any intestine Broils among them: And the more especially, as such Feuds and Divisions might have engaged Queen *Mary's* Party to seek Assistance from the *French*; which might not only engage *England* in an unnecessary War with that Nation, but also, by admitting their Forces into this Island, have greatly endangered the Liberties of both Nations. Therefore the Views of the *English* Queen and her Council, by promoting a Dis-union in *Scotland*, in order to secure the *Scotch* from any Enterprizes against *England*, were weak, unneighbourly, and unpolitick: As they might be certain, by Queen *Mary's* being the next in Succession to that Crown, it could not be her Interest to give an Affront, by Acts of Hostility, to the *English* Nation.

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The former Point being so clearly adjusted, I shall now proceed, *Secondly*, to enquire, How far the Imprisonment of *Mary* Queen of *Scots*, in *England*, was consonant to the Laws of Hospitality, the sacred Right of crowned Heads, or those Principles of Equity and Humanity on which Queen *Elizabeth* piqued herself so much.—In order to a candid Resolution of this Question, we must, *First*, Consider *Mary* in the Light of Dowager Queen of *France*, Sovereign Queen of *Scotland*, and Heiress apparent to the Crown of *England*: Who had been imprisoned, ill-used, and drove out of the Kingdom, by a Faction of her Rebellious Subjects; and that she fled into *England* for Safety, on Dependence of the former Promises of Friendship and Hospitality which had been made her by Queen *Elizabeth*. *Secondly*, That it is a Sort of a tacit Engagement between all crowned Heads, to protect and defend each other in such Circumstances; especially when so nearly related and allied as these two Queens. *Thirdly*, That as Queen *Elizabeth* was not in open War with the Queen of *Scots*, nor could have any fair Concern in the Quarrel between Queen *Mary* and her Subjects; and that Queen *Mary* had not given any Offence by Declaration or Act, sufficient to excite a Rupture between the two Nations; therefore Queen *Elizabeth* could have no just Pretence, according to the Law of Nations, for detaining her Prisoner.

But lest the Reasons assigned by the *English* Council, to induce Queen *Elizabeth* to this extraordinary, unprecedented, and presumptive Action, should appear to have more Weight than what they really carry; we shall here consider them in as full Extent as the Scope of this Treatise will admit. They were as follows, *viz.* *First*, The *English* Council insisted upon Queen *Mary*'s being detained Prisoner, on Account, that she, (as has

been before observed) and her late Husband *Francis II.* of *France*, had assumed to themselves the Title of King and Queen of *England* and *Ireland*, as well as of *France* and *Scotland*; that they had quartered the Arms of *England* and *Ireland*, with those of *France* and *Scotland*, upon all their Palaces, Ensigns, Coaches, Plate, &c. And had those Titles annexed to all the Commissions, Deeds, &c. that were passed by them. *Secondly*, They alledged, as an Occasion for keeping her Prisoner, that she had never ratified the Treaty of *Edinburgh*, which had been negociated and concluded between Queen *Mary*, and her Subjects of the Reformed Religion, under the Mediation of Queen *Elizabeth*: To which Mediation she had been invited by the repeated Solicitations of Queen *Mary*, and her late Husband King *Francis* the II^d. *Thirdly*, They urged for detaining her, that were she allowed to depart from *England*, she might flee to *France*; and there, by the Interest of her Kindred the *Guises*, form such a powerful Confederacy for her Restoration, as might embroil *England* in a War. *Fourthly*, they alledged, that if she was permitted to return to *Scotland*, that Nation would be inflamed by a Civil War; and if Queen *Mary* should prevail, all the *Scotch* Nobility and Gentry in the *English* Interest, would infallibly be ruined and rooted out of that Kingdom. *Lastly*, they objected against Queen *Mary*'s being permitted to come to *London*, to vindicate herself to the Queen of *England*, in Person; by urging, that her Eloquence, together with the Elegance and Popularity of her Address, and her fine Presence, would so enhance the Affection of the Nobility and Gentry, that the Consequences might be dangerous to Queen *Elizabeth*, and to the Repose of the Nation.

To shew the Invalidity of these Objections to Queen *Mary*'s Liberty, it may be observed with
 Regard

Regard to the *First*, That she assumed the Title of Queen of *England* and *Ireland*, when in *France*, in Obedience to her Husband *Francis* the II^d. to whose Directions she was obliged to submit : But upon his Death, and her Return to *Scotland*, she, in Conformity to the Treaty of *Edinburgh*, immediately relinquished the same, and contented herself with only desiring Queen *Elizabeth* to settle the Succession in her Favour.—And as to the second Objection, it must be confessed, that Queen *Mary's* not ratifying the Treaty of *Edinburgh*, was a great Affront to the Queen of *England* : Yet, as it was concluded without the unanimous Consent of the *Scotch* Nation or Parliament, and there were some Stipulations therein so much in Favour of the Reformed Religion, as was certain must give great Offence to the whole Body of the Clergy, and all the Catholicks in *Scotland* ; therefore, tho' Queen *Mary* did not shew any Design to evade that Treaty, which she was at Liberty to have done, as it was the Deed of her Husband *Francis* and the *French* Ministry ; nevertheless, she always declared, that she could not come to any positive Resolution thereon, till such Time as Affairs of the Nation were brought to some Settlement ; which, by *Huntley's* Rebellion, and other Tumults and Disorders, had been very much embroiled.—The third Objection seems to have little Force, as since the Death of *Francis* the II^d. the *Guises* had lost their Influence in the Court of *France* ; and it was well known, that the Queen's endeavouring to restore herself by a *French* Army, as the Reformed Religion had made such Progress in *Scotland*, would be the most effectual Means of destroying what Interest she had yet remaining there ; and, on that Account, was not to be undertaken. As Queen *Mary* was now in Custody of the *English*, the fourth Objection might have been obviated before her

Releasement, by an exprefs Treaty and Stipulation in Favour of the *Scotch* Faction, in the *English* Interest; and by the delivering up some of the Nobility that attended the Queen into *England*, as Hostages for the Performance of the same: Though it can hardly be imagined, had Queen *Mary* prevailed over her rebellious Subjects, that she would have undertaken such a violent Measure; which she was sensible would entirely disgust the *English*, and which she knew Queen *Elizabeth* had Power to resent to the utmost. As to the Argument offered for denying her Access to the *English* Queen, it seems to have more Force than any of the rest: And the more especially, since the Generality of the *Roman* Catholicks in *England* were of Opinion, that as King *Henry* could not procure a Divorce from *Rome*, to dissolve his Marriage with Queen *Catharine*, that his marrying *Anna Bullen* was illicit, that thereby Queen *Elizabeth*'s Succession was illegitimate; and consequently, that *Mary* Queen of *Scots* was lawful Heiress to the Crown of *England*. What Disturbance the prevailing of this Notion might have made, on *Mary*'s Arrival in the Capitol, is uncertain; particularly, if the *English* Nobility should have become so infatuated with her personal Charms, Affability, and Address, as to have resented the high Hand that Queen *Elizabeth* assumed over them, who exerted the Prerogative very strenuously on several Occasions. — However, this Objection could be no Bar to her Releasement in general; but only to her being admitted to vindicate herself personally at the Court of *London*.

The old Countess of *Lenox*'s Plea for Queen *Mary*'s Detainer and Trial for the Murder of Lord *Darnley*, ought to have bore no great Weight in the *English* Council, as *Mary* was a Sovereign and independent Princess; and the Fact not being committed in *England*, it could properly fall under

no other Cognizance, than of the *Scotch Nation* :
 —But we shall enquire more particularly into that
 Affair hereafter.

Wherefore, upon the whole of these Objections, it fully appears, that as Queen *Elizabeth* was not at open War with *Mary* Queen of *Scotland*, but had constantly made her the greatest Protections of Friendship, and had not any equitable or even plausible Reason for detaining her Prisoner ; therefore, such a Proceeding was inconsistent with Laws of Hospitality, the sacred Right of crowned Heads, and those Principles of Equity and Humanity, on which every Action of Sovereign Princes ought to be founded.

We come now to the Discussion of the third Question proposed, viz. Whether, or not, Queen *Mary* was concerned in the Murder of her Husband the Lord *Darnley* ? Now, by the Oaths upon Examination of *Nelson* and *Symmonds*, their Majesties Servants aforementioned, who were in the House at the Time of its being blown up, the Queen appears to be an Accessary to the Fact ; as they declare, that upon the King's first coming to the House, the Queen had taken all the Keys, and even that of the Garden-Doors into her Custody, and never returned them again to any of his Majesty's Domesticks ; *Taylor*, the King's Servant, having only the Keys of his Majesty's own Apartment : That nevertheless, any Person might have Entrance into the House by the Garden-Gate, without the King's Knowledge or Consent ; and that *Bothwell's* Valet de Chambre kept the Keys of the Queen's Bed-Chamber, which was under his Majesty's, and also of the Back-Passage through the Gardens. Another Indication of her Guilt is her speedy Marriage, after the King's Death, with *Bothwell*, and her screening him from Conviction of the Murder, by refusing to postpone the Day of Trial, at the
 Earl

Earl of *Lenox* his Accuser's Request. That the Earl strongly solicited for a Prorogation of the short Day appointed for *Bothwell's* Trial, is evident by the following six Letters, which passed between the Queen and him on that Occasion, the Originals and Copies whereof are preserved in the *Cottonian* Library; but being in the old *Scotish* Dialect, I have here, for the Benefit of the Reader, rendered them into modern *English*.

L E T T E R I.

From the Earl of Lenox to Queen MARY.

May it please your Majesty,

‘ I HAVE received by the Bearer, my Servant,
 ‘ your most gracious and comfortable Letter,
 ‘ for which I return most humble Thanks to your
 ‘ Highness, and trust never to deserve otherwise at
 ‘ your Majesty’s Hands, than as your Highness
 ‘ offers me in your said Letter; and seeing it pleases
 ‘ your Majesty to accept and take in good Part
 ‘ my simple Advice and Counsel, it emboldens me
 ‘ the more to continue therein, and especially in
 ‘ this following. That whereas notwithstanding
 ‘ the Pains and Labour which I perceive your
 ‘ Majesty takes for the just Trial of this late cruel
 ‘ Act, and yet the Offenders not be known, to
 ‘ my great Grief, I am therefore forced by Nature
 ‘ and Duty to be so bold as to give your Majesty
 ‘ my poor and simple Advice for bringing the
 ‘ Matter to light; which is, to beseech your Ma-
 ‘ jesty, for God’s Sake, and for the Honour of your
 ‘ Majesty and this your Realm, that your High-
 ‘ ness

' nefs would, with convenient Diligence, afsemble
 ' the whole Nobility and Eftates of your Majesty's
 ' Realm, and they, by their Advice, to take fuch
 ' good Order for the perfect Trial of the Matter,
 ' as I doubt not, but with the Grace of Almighty
 ' God, his Holy Spirit fhall fo work upon the
 ' Hearts of your Majesty and all your faithful
 ' Subjects, as that the bloody and cruel Actors of
 ' this Deed fhall be manifefly known. And al-
 ' though I am fenfible that I need not to put your
 ' Majesty in Remembrance thereof, the Matter
 ' affecting your Majesty fo nearly, yet I muft
 ' humbly entreat your Majesty to bear with my
 ' troubling your Highnefs therein, being Father to
 ' the Deceased: So committing your Majesty to the
 ' Protection of Almighty God, to preferve you
 ' with long Life and a happy Reign.'

From, &c.

Dated the 20th of Feb. 1566-7.

L E T T E R II.

*From MARY Queen of Scotland to the Earl of
 Lenox. (AN ORIGINAL.)*

Right trusty Cousin and Counsellor,

' **W**E greet you well, and have received your
 ' Letter of the 20th Instant, giving us
 ' Thanks for taking your good Will and Counsel
 ' in fuch good Part: In that we did only what is
 ' Right; and in fhewing you all the Pleasure and
 ' good Will that we can, we do but our Duty,
 ' and what natural Affection muft compel us to,
 ' of which you may always affure yourfelf as cer-
 ' tainly at prefent as hereafter, fo long as God
 ' fhall

shall grant us Life, as ever you might have done
 since our first Acquaintance with you. And as
 for the Assembly of the Nobility and Estates,
 which you advise us to cause to be convened, for
 to have a full Trial of the King our Husband's
 cruel Slaughter, it is indeed convenient that such
 should be, and even shortly. Before the Receipt
 of your Letter, we had issued a Proclamation for
 a Parliament; at the which we doubt not but all,
 or the most Part, will be present; where, first of
 all, this Matter being most dear to us, shall be
 handled, and nothing left undone which may fur-
 ther the clear Trial of the same; and we, for our
 own Part, as we ought, and all Noblemen like-
 wise, we doubt not, shall most willingly direct
 all our Wit and Ingenuity to this End, as Expe-
 rience, in fine, with God's Grace, shall give Wit-
 ness to the World. So we commit to God.

*At Seaton, the 21st
 Day of Feb.*

Your good Daughter,

1566-7.

MARY R.

LETTER III.

From the Earl of Lenox to Queen MARY.

May it please your Majesty,

I Render my most humble Thanks unto your
 Highness for your gracious and comfortable
 Letter, which I received the 24th of this Instant;
 and whereas I perceive by the same, that it is
 your Majesty's Pleasure to remit the Trial of this
 late odious Act to the Time of Parliament:
 Please your Majesty, although I am assured your
 Highness

' Highness thinks the Time as long as I do till the
 ' Matter be tried, and the Actors of that Deed con-
 ' dignly punished, (yet I shall humbly crave your
 ' Majesty's Pardon in troubling your Highness so
 ' oft therein as I do, for that the Matter touches
 ' me nearly) beseeching your Majesty to accept this
 ' my simple Advice in good Part as follows; which
 ' is, that whereas the Time is to the Meeting of
 ' Parliament, this Matter both of such Weight
 ' and Importance which ought rather to be with
 ' all Expedition and Diligence sought out and
 ' punished for Example to the whole World, as I
 ' know your Majesty's Wisdom considers the same
 ' far more than any my Wit can comprehend; yet
 ' forasmuch as I hear of certain Bills that have been
 ' affixed on the *Tolbooth* Door at *Edinburgh*, an-
 ' swering your Majesty's first and second Procla-
 ' mation, which name particularly certain Persons
 ' Devisers of the cruel Murder: I shall therefore
 ' most humbly beseech your Majesty, for the Love
 ' of God, the Honour of your Majesty and the
 ' Realm, and the Weal and Peace of the same,
 ' that it will please your Majesty forthwith not
 ' only to apprehend, and put in safe Keeping, the
 ' Persons named in the said Bills, but also with
 ' Diligence to assemble your Majesty's Nobility,
 ' and then, by open Proclamation, to admonish
 ' and require the Writers of the said Bills to appear
 ' according to the Purport thereof. At which
 ' Time, if they do not, your Majesty may, by the
 ' Advice of your Nobility and Council, relieve and
 ' set at Liberty the Persons mentioned in the Bills
 ' aforesaid; so shall your Majesty perform an
 ' honourable and godly Act, in bringing the Affair
 ' to such a close Point, as either the Matter shall
 ' appear plainly before your Majesty, to the Pu-
 ' nishment of those who have been the Actors of
 ' this cruel Deed, or else the said Bills will be found

‘ vain in themselves, and the Persons which are
 ‘ therein slandered, may be exonerated and set at
 ‘ Liberty at your Majesty’s Pleasure.’

From, &c.

Feb. 26, 1566-7.

LETTER IV.

*From MARY Queen of Scots to the Earl of
 Lenox. (AN ORIGINAL.)*

Right trusty Cousin and Counsellor, we greet you well,

‘ **W**E have received your Letter, and perceive
 ‘ by the same that you have partly mistaken
 ‘ our late Letter, sent you by our Servant on the
 ‘ 24th of *February*, in that Point, that we should
 ‘ refer the Trial of the odious Act committed to
 ‘ the Time of Parliament : We meant not so, but
 ‘ rather would wish to God, that it might be tried
 ‘ speedily and without Delay ; for the sooner the
 ‘ better, and the more Comfort to us : Yet because
 ‘ your Advice was, that we should convene our
 ‘ whole Nobility for that Purpose, we answered
 ‘ you that we had already summoned a Parliament
 ‘ at which they would convene, and before which
 ‘ we judged it would not be possible to get them
 ‘ together, since they would think double sum-
 ‘ moning heavy to them ; and so in mentioning a
 ‘ Parliament, we meant not, that this Trial was a
 ‘ Parliamentary Matter, nor that it was requisite
 ‘ till then to defer it, but that then the Nobility
 ‘ would be best convened. And whereas you desire,
 ‘ that

' that we should cause those whose Names are con-
 ' tained in some Bills affixed on the *Tolbooth* Door
 ' of *Edinburgh*, to be apprehended and put in safe
 ' Keeping: There are so many of the said Bills,
 ' and withal so different and contrary to each other
 ' in the List of the Names, that we know not upon
 ' which to proceed; but if there be any Names
 ' mentioned in them, that you think worthy to
 ' suffer Trial, upon your advertising us thereof, we
 ' shall so proceed to take Cognizance as is agreeable
 ' to the Laws of the Realm, and being found cul-
 ' pable, we shall see the Punishment as rigorously
 ' executed as the Weight of the Crime deserves.
 ' What else you think proper to be done for that
 ' Purpose we pray you to let us know, and we
 ' shall not omit any Occasion which may clear up
 ' the Matter. So fare you well.'

At Seaton, the 1st
 Day of March,
 1566.

Your good Daughter,
 MARY R.

LETTER V.

From the Earl of Lenox to Queen MARY.

May it please your Majesty,

' I Thank you most humbly for your genteel
 ' Answer, as touching the Ward of the *Lenox*,
 ' albeit the same does not signify unto me, whether
 ' it be your Majesty's Will to bestow the same upon
 ' me or not, or otherwise to dispense with the
 ' Prince's Age conformable to my Writing, and

‘ humble Suit, wherein I would be glad to know
 ‘ your Majesty’s Pleasure. Further, where your
 ‘ Majesty in your former Letter writes to me that
 ‘ if there be any Names mentioned in the Bills
 ‘ affixed on the *Talbooth* Door of *Edinburgh*, that I
 ‘ think worthy to suffer a Trial, for the Murder
 ‘ of the King your Husband, upon my Adver-
 ‘ tisement, your Majesty would proceed to take
 ‘ such Cognizance of the Persons as is consistent
 ‘ with the Laws of the Realm, and, being found
 ‘ culpable, you would see the Punishment as rigo-
 ‘ rously executed as the Weight of the Crime de-
 ‘ serves. May it please your Majesty, my humble
 ‘ Petition was unto your Highness, and which is,
 ‘ that it may please you not only to apprehend and
 ‘ put in Custody the Persons named in the Bills,
 ‘ which answered to your Majesty’s first and second
 ‘ Proclamations, but also with Diligence to assem-
 ‘ ble your Majesty’s whole Nobility, and then by
 ‘ open Proclamation to admonish and require the
 ‘ Writers of the said Bills to appear according to
 ‘ the Purport thereof, at which Time if they do
 ‘ not, your Majesty may, by the Advice of your
 ‘ said Nobility and Council, release and set at Li-
 ‘ berty the Persons mentioned in the Bills aforesaid.
 ‘ And for the Names of the Persons aforesaid, I
 ‘ marvel that the same has been kept from your
 ‘ Majesty’s Ears, considering the Purport of the
 ‘ said Bills, and as the Names of the Persons are
 ‘ so publicly talked of; that is to say, in the first
 ‘ Bill, the Earl *Bothwell*, Mr. *James Balfour*,
 ‘ Mr. *David Chalmers*, and Black *John Spence*;
 ‘ and in the second Bill, *Seymour Francis Bastiane*,
 ‘ *John de Burdeous*, and *Joseph Dacry’s* Brother;
 ‘ which I assure your Majesty, for my Part, I
 ‘ greatly suspect: And now your Majesty knowing
 ‘ their Names, and being a Party as much or more
 ‘ than

‘ than I am, although the Father, I do not doubt
 ‘ but your Majesty will order the Matter according
 ‘ to the Weight of the Cause, which I most en-
 ‘ tirely and humbly beseech. So I commit your
 ‘ Majesty to the Protection of Almighty God.’

From, &c.

March 17, 1566-7.

LETTER VI.

From the Earl of Lenox to Queen MARY.

May it please your Majesty,

‘ I AM lately informed, that there has been Pro-
 ‘ clamation made at *Glasgow* and *Dumbarton*,
 ‘ charging me and others, having or pretending to
 ‘ have Interest, to concur with your Majesty, and
 ‘ to pursue the Earl *Bothwell* and others for the
 ‘ treasonable Murder of the King your Majesty’s
 ‘ Husband, to appear before your Highness’s
 ‘ Justice or his Deputies, in the *Tolbooth* of *Edin-*
 ‘ *burgh*, the 12th Day of *April* Instant; the which
 ‘ I assure your Majesty I am not able to keep:
 ‘ For being at present on my Journey, with set pur-
 ‘ pose and deliberate Mind to keep the same, I
 ‘ am fallen so ill that I can no Ways well travel;
 ‘ and, although I were able, I doubt not, but in
 ‘ Consideration of the Shortness of Time, and Im-
 ‘ portance of this great and weighty Matter, and
 ‘ also in respect of sundry other reasonable Motives
 ‘ and Causes and appertaining to the same, your
 ‘ Majesty will bear with my beseeching you most
 ‘ humbly, for the Sake of Justice and Righteous-
 ‘ ness,

' nefs, and for your own Honour, being the prin-
 ' cipal Party, that it will please your Majesty, con-
 ' formable to my several former Letters, your
 ' Highness would cause to be apprehended, and
 ' put into safe Keeping, the suspected Persons
 ' named in the same; your Majesty avoiding their
 ' Company: For it was never heard of, but that in
 ' the Trial of such an odious Fact, all suspected
 ' Persons were always apprehended, what Degree
 ' soever they were of, supposing they not guilty of
 ' the Fact, till the Matter was truly tried: And
 ' also that it would please your Majesty to defer
 ' this Day of Law until any such reasonable Time
 ' as I may convene my Friends for keeping the
 ' same, conformable to the Laws of this Realm, as
 ' your Majesty shall appoint; but also that I may
 ' have sufficient Time to search and seek true
 ' Evidence at all Hands, and in all Parts, for Ma-
 ' nifestation of this most odious Crime, so I shall
 ' not fail, God willing, to keep that Time ap-
 ' pointed, and hope in God to bring with me such
 ' Proof as the Truth may be known; otherwise the
 ' suspected Persons continuing still at Liberty, and
 ' being great in Court and about your Majesty's
 ' Person, comforts and encourages them and theirs,
 ' and discourages all others that would give Evidence
 ' against them; so that if your Majesty suffers this
 ' short Day of Law to go forward, after the Man-
 ' ner as is appointed, I assure your Majesty you
 ' will have no just Trial, as you would have here-
 ' after: And thus giving your Majesty my plain
 ' Advice as I am able, for the just Trial of this
 ' unnatural and cruel Fact, so far as God gives me
 ' the Grace, according to my Duty, beseeching
 ' also your Majesty most humbly to grant me your
 ' high Commission, to apprehend and take such
 ' Persons as I shall get Knowledge of, that were
 ' present

- ‘ present at the cruel Murder. I commit your
- ‘ Majesty to the Protection of Almighty God.
- ‘ I humbly beseech your Majesty to impute this
- ‘ Liberty to the Effect of your Highness’s last
- ‘ Letter sent unto me from *Streveling*, the 11th
- ‘ Day of *April*.’

Now although the foregoing Letters manifest a Reluctancy in Queen *Mary* to bring *Bothwell* to a Trial, at the Time and in the Manner proposed by the Earl of *Lenox*; and the taking Advantage of the latter’s Evidence not being ready prepared, in order to hurry the Trial over before the Meeting of Parliament, does not carry such a good Aspect as could be wished, on so solemn an Occasion; nevertheless, this Proceeding out of Love to her Favourite, cannot, in Fact, fix any Guilt on the Queen, as having been a Party concerned in the Murder: Neither do we find any direct Proof thereof, but only Suspicions, founded on her former Behaviour to the King, and her supposed Marriage to *Bothwell*, so soon after his Death. For when *Powry*, *Tallo*, *Dalglish*, and the other Regicides were at the Place of Execution, and on the Point of launching into Eternity, they declared, that as they expected to appear before God, they were solemnly told by *Bothwell*, that *Morton* and *Murray* were the Authors and Inventors of the King’s Murder. And even *Bothwell*, when in his dismal Confinement in *Denmark*, during his being sensible, often declared, that he had executed the whole Affair according to the System concerted by *Murray*, *Morton*, *Liddington*, and himself; always vindicating Queen *Mary* from having had any Hand in or Knowledge of the Matter.

Indeed, when *Murray* had got Queen *Mary* in Custody in *Locklevin* Castle, and Queen *Elizabeth* interested herself to obtain her Liberty, there were
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several scandalous Letters, Love-Songs, and other Papers exposed, and said to be such as had passed between the Queen and *Bothwell*; and Duplicates thereof were sent by *Murray* to the Court of *London*, to influence the *English* Queen and Ministry against Queen *Mary*: Which Writings were said to be taken in *Bothwell's* Silver-Box, that was found upon his Servant *Dalglish*, when he was attempting to flee with it from *Edinburgh* Castle. Of these Letters *Cecil* made an Abstract, which is to be found in the Paper-Office; and is entitled, *Notes drawn forth of Queen Mary's Letters to Bothwell, &c.* It is written and marked with *Cecil's* own Hand, and these Notes or Extracts, if authentic, evince a Criminal Correspondence to have been carried on between the Queen and *Bothwell* before the King's Death: But as the Originals were never transmitted to *England*, and it is manifest that both *Murray* and *Cecil* were inveterate Enemies to the Queen of *Scots*, we shall not depend on the Testimony of these Letters; as we know not whether Forgery, which has often been used on less Occasions, may not have been practised on this, especially since *Murray*, as we shall hereafter shew, was very dexterous in such Affairs. And as none of the Regicides ever ventured to impeach the Queen of this Murder, although they declared other great Persons to be concerned therein; and *Bothwell* always vindicating Queen *Mary*, to his last Moment, there appears great Probability of her being innocent: Or at least, for want of more sufficient Evidence than that of *Nelson* and *Symmonds*, which is only founded on her having entrusted her own and *Bothwell's* Servants with the Keys of the House, we, at this Time of Day, must judge the Matter to be dubious.

But supposing it Fact, that Queen *Mary* was concerned in the Murder of Lord *Darnley* her Husband,

Husband, we shall proceed to the Solution of our fourth Point, which is, to enquire, upon admitting such a Supposition, How far this, and her after Marriage with *Bothwell*, could justify Queen *Elizabeth* in detaining her Prisoner? The first Part of this Question is partly resolved already, in our Answer to the Countess of *Lenox's* Plea for the Detainer of Queen *Mary*, at the End of our Solution of the second Point proposed to be examined. All that we have further to observe on this Head is, that we know not of any existant Right, founded on the Law of Nations, whereby any Sovereign Power, or Crowned Head, has Authority to imprison, try, arraign or punish another for Crimes or Misdemeanors committed in their own Kingdom; and the establishing such a Precedent would be very dangerous to the mutual Peace, Union, and Tranquility of Kingdoms, as Subjects rarely want for Motives of Complaint against their Sovereigns; which, were they to be tried and adjudged by other Powers, must introduce inevitable Confusion among Nations. How far Lord *Darnley's* being, or having been a Subject of *England*, may countenance Queen *Elizabeth* in this Affair, we shall not positively determine; but are apt to believe, all Civilians will allow, that by his Acceptance of the Crown of *Scotland* he entirely renounced all Subjection to that of *England*.—As for Queen *Mary's* Marriage with *Bothwell*, it could not in the least justify Queen *Elizabeth* in her Proceedings, tho' it might fix ever so great a Mark of Ignominy on the Queen of *Scots*; since *Bothwell* had been acquitted by a Jury (whether packed or not) of the Nobility; and, after her former Husband's Death, Queen *Mary* was certainly at Liberty to marry whom she pleased: Therefore, this Marriage could be no just Motive for *Elizabeth's* detaining a Sister

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Queen, and presumptive Heirefs to her Crown, a Prisoner in her Dominions.

Having thus adjusted these four controverted Points, we hope, with such Impartiality and Candour as will be agreeable to our unprejudiced Readers, we now find ourselves obliged to trace Queen *Mary's* History to a Period, before we can give a just Solution to the two last Quotations, that we proposed to solve.

When Lord *Herris* found that his strongest Solicitations could not prevail with Queen *Elizabeth*, to grant *Mary* Queen of *Scots* her Liberty, he pleaded hard to have the Regent *Murray's* holding any Parliament in *Scotland* prevented, 'till Matters between him and Queen *Mary* had a Hearing and were determined by Queen *Elizabeth*. But *Murray* was before-hand with him; and proceeded with such Rapidity, that he held a Parliament on the 25th of *June*, 1568: Wherein he carried Things with such Rigour, that Queen *Mary's* best Friends were exiled, their Estates seized on, and their Families ruined. Queen *Elizabeth* was so incensed at this haughty Conduct of *Murray*, that she sent Dispatches to him to appear at the City of *York*, and answer for his Conduct to Queen *Mary*, to such Deputies as Queen *Elizabeth* should appoint; signifying withal, that if he did not give just Reasons for his Proceedings, she would set Queen *Mary* at Liberty, and restore her to her Kingdom, with all the Force she was Mistress of.

Murray, finding himself under a Necessity of obeying Queen *Elizabeth's* Injunctions, called a Parliament, and procured such Commissioners to be joined with him, as he knew would suit his Purpose in meeting the Queen of *England's* Deputies; and Queen *Mary* was allowed also to send her Commissioners to *York*, to lay her Complaints against *Murray*, who were allowed the first Place and Rank

Rank in the Congress: And before they began to open the Case, they entered a solemn Protest, that her consenting to lay the whole of her Treatment by *Murray*, before the Queen of *England* and her Council, should by no Means be construed as an Acknowledgment of her Subjection to the Crown of *England*, nor of being under their Sovereignty; but as a Testimony of her full Trust and Confidence in the Friendship of Queen *Elizabeth*, from a firm Persuasion of that Queen's great Honour, Equity, and Regard, which she had often, and particularly on this Occasion, testified and repeated to the Distressed *Mary* Queen of *Scotland*.

When the *English* Commissioners had heard both Parties, they made their Report to Queen *Elizabeth*; and were ordered by her, to acquaint the Regent *Murray*, that she was no Ways satisfied with his Conduct: And as she thought his Reasons were not sufficient to justify the Severities exercised against Queen *Mary*, she insisted that he, with some of the Queen's Deputies, should repair to *London*, to give her a more Satisfactory Account of Particulars.

After a full Hearing on *Murray*'s coming to *London*, Queen *Elizabeth* and her Council were puzzled how to Act: For though they were willing to have some Pretext for detaining Queen *Mary* Prisoner, yet as *Murray* and his Associates could not offer any Thing Satisfactory in their own Vindication, the Queen of *England* and her Council for some Time shewed an open Disposition to favour Queen *Mary*; and Queen *Elizabeth* reprimanded the Earl of *Murray* and his Adherents very sharply for their Proceedings. But *Murray*, by some secret Arts, found Means to change the Inclinations and Affections of the Court of *England* to his own Side: When after some long Conferences, whereby *Murray* was fully gratified, and Queen *Mary* con-

tinued in her Imprisonment, and he returned again into *Scotland*.

Before the Earl of *Murray* left *England*, he forged several Letters from Queen *Mary*, then Prisoner at Lord *Scroop's* at *Bolton-Castle*, and sent them to the Earls of *Huntley*, *Argyle*, and others of her Majesty's Friends; so ordering the Matter as to have them intercepted, and sent immediately to Queen *Elizabeth*. In these Letters he made her utter loud Complaints of the Usage she had met with from the Queen of *England*, and her Ministry; and to endeavour to excite her Friends to take up Arms in her Cause, assuring them of Assistance from another Quarter. *Campden* observes that these Letters were never proved to be genuine and authentick; nevertheless, they so much incensed Queen *Elizabeth*, that from this Time she was ready to receive any ill Impressions, Surmises, and false Informations against *Mary* Queen of *Scots*, who was soon after removed from *Bolton-Castle* to *Tutbury*, and there put into the Custody of the Earl of *Shrewsbury*.

Soon after his Return to *Scotland*, *Murray* found himself opposed in the Regency by the Duke of *Hamilton*; who arrived from *France*, with full Power, signed by the Queen, to take upon him the Government of the Kingdom in her Absence: But *Murray* found Means to defeat all his Designs, and, at length, to take him and Lord *Herris* Prisoners. However, in a short Time, the Haughtiness of *Murray* procured him the Hatred of the Chief of the Nobility and Gentry in *Scotland*, who engaged one *James Hamilton* a Desperado, that had been rendered implacable by *Murray's* severe Usage to cut him off. Upon the 23d of *January* 1569-70, as *Murray* was riding through the Town of *Linthgow*, this *Hamilton* lay concealed in one of the Front Houses of the principal Street, from whence
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he fired a Musket at the Regent and killed him on the Spot. And it is observable, that the Place from which *Hamilton* shot, had formerly been the Apartment of the late *John Hamilton* Primate of *St. Andrews*, whom *Murray* had executed innocently for Receeding to the King's Murder.

This sudden Event raised the drooping Spirits of all the Queen's Party in *Scotland*, and prepared Matters ripe for her Restoration: But she, by the Advice of mistaken and ill-conducted Councils, had involved herself in such Difficulties as rendered it impossible for her Friends to do her any Service. The late Regent *Murray*, while in *England*, had secretly proposed to the Duke of *Norfolk* for him to marry Queen *Mary*, and proposed to do the utmost to promote it. He was a young Nobleman of a very large Estate and Influence, tho' a *Roman* Catholick; of a mild, placable, humane and generous Disposition; and having no ambitious Designs, was averse to entering into any Broils or Troubles, but remained very strict and true to the Religion he professed. *Murray's* chief View in making this Overture, was to obtain a secret Confidence with the Duke, and discover his Designs and Affections, thereby to ensnare him: But his Grace foreseeing the Danger of such an Attempt at that Time, declined it. However, about this Juncture he was drawn in to hearken to it by the Management of the Bishop of *Ross*, *Liddington*, and *Throgmorton*, being also strongly pressed thereto by the Earl of *Leicester*, with the Concurrence of the Lords *Pembroke*, *Arundel*, and *Dacres*, the Earl of *Leicester* engaging to procure Queen *Elizabeth's* Consent thereunto: But as *Leicester* never attempted to make good his Promise, and the Matter reached Queen *Elizabeth's* Ears she severely reprimanded the Duke, who thereupon disclosed *Leicester's* Conduct in the Affair, and assured her that he would never more have

have any further Concern with *Mary* or her Party ; and immediately retired from Court to his Seat in the Country : But being advised by some Friends to return to *London* again, he was soon afterwards apprehended and sent Prisoner to the Tower : However, through the Interest of Sir *William Cecil* and *Walsingham*, who knew the Duke's generous and honest Disposition, he was set at Liberty, after suffering some Months Confinement.

Norfolk, after his Release, found himself so much slighted by the Court, that he was not even summoned to Parliament like other Peers, which Usage he resented very highly ; and this Treatment, drove him upon the dangerous Expedient of entering into a fresh Correspondence with Queen *Mary* ; which was carried on by the Means of one *Ridolphus*, who was secret Agent from the *Pope*, *France*, and *Spain*, to Queen *Mary*. *Ridolphus* conveyed several Letters to him from the Queen, and her Manner of Writing, entirely captivated the Duke's Affections ; and engaged him to place himself at the Head of a Conspiracy for Releasing her : But being betrayed by his Secretary, the Letters between him and Queen *Mary* were seized, and his Grace was again committed to the Tower. Here he remained Prisoner for above four Months, and was then brought to a Trial, for holding a Treasonable Correspondence with *Mary* Queen of *Scots*, and the Queen of *England*'s inveterate Enemies at Home and Abroad ; being found guilty, was beheaded on *Tower-hill* ; greatly lamenting his being seduced by *Ridolphus*'s cunning Arts, and Queen *Mary*'s winning Behaviour, to enter into a Conspiracy for procuring her Liberty, contrary to his former solemn Engagements to Queen *Elizabeth*.

The Discovery of *Norfolk*'s Plot, gave the Queen of *England* a thorough Insight into Queen *Mary*'s Intrigues and Confederacies for regaining her Liberty :

berty : Whereupon, she was, for the more Security, sent from *Coventry*, whether she had been removed from *Tutbury*, to *Chatsworth* in *Derbyshire*; and ordered to be closely confined in Custody of the Earl of *Devonshire*, the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, being weary of his Attendance, and the Care and Oversight of her, desiring to be discharged.

During this Time, the Earl of *Lenox* had been made Regent in *Scotland*; but, through the Influence of the *English* Ministry at the Court of *London*, he was cut off in about a Twelve-month : And the Earl of *Mar* succeeded him, who died with Grief, in thirteen Months after his coming to the Regency. After which, the Earl of *Morton* obtained the Government, and was Regent almost four Years; when, by the Instigation of the Earls of *Argyle* and *Athol*, he was divested of his Post, and King *James* the VIth assumed the Government of the Kingdom, in the 12th Year of his Age : Sometime after which, *Morton* was brought to the Block for Male-Administration, and confessed at his Execution, that *Bothwell* had tampered and dealt with him earnestly about Killing King *Henry*. — Thus Justice, by some Means or other, overtook all the Conspirators, that had been engaged in that horrid Murder.

But to return to Queen *Mary* : About two Years before the Duke of *Norfolk*'s first Commitment to the Tower, the Earl of *Leicester* had sent her six Articles of a Treaty, for her Liberty and Restoration : Giving out that they were approved of by the Queen of *England*, and her Privy-Council. To these Articles Queen *Mary* readily agreed; and the last of them specified, That she should take some *English* Peer for a Husband, mentioning particularly the Duke of *Norfolk*, which Queen *Mary* understood was done by the Queen of *England*'s Approbation. However, as her Compliance was
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constructed by the Court of *London* to be a Submission by Force, it was set aside, and Queen *Mary* denied her Liberty. Again, in 1570, Queen *Elizabeth* sent *Cecil* and Sir *Walter Mildmay* to the Queen of *Scots* with different Articles: In which, among other Things, it was modestly required of her, that the young King of *Scotland*, her Son, should be put under the Guardianship of the Court of *London*; that some of the most important Fortresses in *Scotland* should be delivered up to the *English*; and that several of the chief Nobility of *Scotland*, should be sent as Hostages into *England*, for the Performance of the Stipulations; but these Articles being too hard to be digested, were absolutely rejected by Queen *Mary's* Deputies.

After the Beheading of the Duke of *Norfolk*, Queen *Mary* led a very mournful Life, in close Confinement, and sadly afflicted on Account of her having been the Occasion of bringing that fine young Nobleman to the Block: Though she strongly vindicated herself to the Deputies sent to examine her, by Queen *Elizabeth*, from having had any Hand in the Conspiracy that had been carried on by the Priests and Jesuits against her; insomuch, that even the Commissioners could find nothing whereon to lodge such an Imputation against Queen *Mary*. In 1574, Queen *Elizabeth* again tampered with Queen *Mary*, by offering her Articles for her Liberty and Restoration; but the Clamour of the Protestant Clergy, together with the seizing *Creighton* a *Romish* Priest, on board a Ship, with some treasonable Papers, entirely set aside this last Treaty, when it was upon the Point of being ratified and confirmed by both Queens, and the greatest Harmony established between them.

The Papers that were seized, discovered a new Design formed by the *Pope*, *Spain*, and the *Guises*, to invade *England*; where their Endeavours to destroy

stroy Queen *Elizabeth* were to be seconded by a Conspiracy, at the Head of which was one *Babington*, who had engaged six Assassins, by Oath, to cut off the Queen of *England*.

Walsingham and *Cecil* suffered this Plot to go on, till they had detected all the Chiefs concerned; and made a full Discovery of Queen *Mary's* Confederacy with them, by the Means of *Nawe* and *Curl*, her Majesty's Secretaries, whom they engaged to betray their Royal Mistress, as *Camden* acknowledges; when they stopt short upon them, and brought the Conspirators to the Punishment they merited for so bloody an Enterprize. Queen *Mary*, for the greater Safety, was committed to *Fotheringay-Castle*, in Custody of Sir *Amias Pawlet* and Sir *Drew Drewry*; the former of which treated her with as much Severity as if she had been the meanest, and most abject Criminal.

Not long after, a special Commission passed the Great Seal of *England*, for bringing her to a Trial for High-Treason, and the Commissioners sat accordingly on *October* the 11th, 1576. When the cheif Evidence against her, was the Confession of *Babington*, at his Trial, and at the Place of Execution; wherein he owned, that he had received many Letters from Queen *Mary*, by the Hands of her two Secretaries. The other Evidences were *Nawe* and *Curl*, her Secretaries; the first a *Frenchman*, the other *Scotch*, both of whom had been corrupted by *Walsingham* and *Cecil*: And though all the Proofs against Queen *Mary* did not amount to a full Evidence of her having any Knowledge, Notice of, or Concern in the Designs carrying on against Queen *Elizabeth*, nevertheless the Commissioners brought her in *Guilty* of High-Treason. On their Return to *London*, a Parliament was called, which not only ratified the Sentence, but likewise ordered it to be put in Execution without Delay.

Wherefore, on the 25th of *October*, Sentence of Death was pronounced by the Commission, against *Mary*, in the Star-Chamber, at *Westminster*.

Queen *Mary* finding Things go so hard against her, as that her Life was now at the Mercy of Queen *Elizabeth*, wrote a long Declaration to her on the 19th of *December* following; wherein she fully denied having had the least Concern or Knowledge, much less giving Approbation to any Design of cutting off Queen *Elizabeth*. But notwithstanding all *Mary's* Efforts, Queen *Elizabeth* being pressed and importuned by *Walsingham*, *Cecil*, and the *Scotch* Protestants, was, at length, prevailed on to sign the Dead-Warrant, though with great Reluctancy; delivering it to her Secretary *Davidson*, with a strict Charge not to put it into Execution till farther Orders. However, by the Violence of the Earls of *Leicester* and *Kent*, together with the Arts of *Walsingham* and *Cecil*, the Warrant was executed, and *Mary* Queen of *Scots* beheaded at *Bolkeringay-Castle*, on the 8th Day of *February*, 1577, to the great Surprise, Sorrow, and irrede-miable Reproach of Queen *Elizabeth*. — King *James* the VIth, then in strict Union and Alliance with *England*, made the strongest Supplications, by his Ambassadors, at the Court of *London*, to have his Mother's Life spared; solemnly promising to give the best Securities, that neither himself nor Queen *Mary*, should ever attempt any Thing to the Prejudice or Hurt of Queen *Elizabeth* or *England*, but to live, for the future, in strict Friendship. However, all his Entreaties would not prevail, or even obtain having the Execution of the Queen, his Mother, respited.

Thus fell *Mary* Queen of *Scots*, in the 36th Year of her Age, though strongly interceeded for by the Courts of *France*, *Spain*, and other Foreign Powers: Behaving at the Place of Execution with the

the greatest Decency, and most Heroic and Christian Spirit to the last; strongly asserting her Innocence with Intrepidity; and with the greatest Composure, Majesty, and heroic Resolution, she undauntedly met her Punishment and Death.

Having given this short Abstract of the History of this unhappy Queen, the Particulars of whose Reign would fill a large Volume, we shall now proceed to resolve the two last Points that we proposed to enquire into. The first of which is, How far the Trial, Condemnation, and Execution of Queen *Mary*, by the Government of *England*, was justifiable by the Law of Nations? — We have already proved that the detaining her Prisoner in *England*, on her flying hither for Shelter from her rebellious Subjects, was a violent, arbitrary, and, we believe, unprecedented Act; contrary to the Faith of Princes, and to Royal Honour and Veracity. And if *Mary*, in this dismal Situation, found herself obliged to make use of any extraordinary Measures to gain her Liberty, or die in the Attempt; the Ministry of *England*, by their unwarrantable and inconsistent Behaviour to her, after Confinement, were answerable for all the Consequences, by driving her to such a hard Dilemma. Her being accessory to *Babington's* Plot was never proved, nor is it even insisted upon by *English* Historians, farther than conjectural Suppositions and Inferences. And had she been engaged in that Conspiracy, nevertheless, it could not be construed as High-Treason against Queen *Elizabeth*; *Mary* being not a Subject of *England*, but an absolute Sovereign Queen, though unjustly stript of her Regal Authority; and her Sovereignty was acknowledged by the *English* Ambassador's refusing to attend or give Sanction to the Coronation of *James* the VIth, during his Mother's Life-time. Neither did the *English* Ministry, in all their Proceedings,

ceedings, pretend to treat with or judge her as a private Person; but considered her in Quality of a Queen, though they used, tried, and condemned her as a Criminal. Supposing that *Mary* had projected some violent Efforts for the Recovering her Liberty, it was no more than what is common with all Princes and States at War with each other: They do their utmost to annoy and weaken their Enemy; and *Mary* can be considered in no other State, since *England* used her as an Enemy, by the unjust Detention of her Person, and by breaking off all Treaties with her, without any manifest Reason for so doing. And being an independent Sovereign, arbitrarily confined in the Dominions of another, her Trial and Condemnation by an inferior Court, to whose Authority she was not subjected by the Law of Nations, must needs be a manifest Violation of that Law; and the putting her to Death, one of the highest Infringements upon the Rights of Sovereign Power, that ever happened.

As to our last Question, which is, Whether Queen *Elizabeth* was actually consenting to the Death of Queen *Mary*, and how far Malice and female Emulation, as well as true Policy, determined her in that Event? We believe the Solution will be very easy to every Reader, who has perused the foregoing Abstract of the Life of Queen *Mary* with Attention. But lest it should not, we shall here observe, that Queen *Elizabeth's* Jealousy of *Mary's* superior Charms, Attractions, and personal Address, appeared evidently in two Instances, *viz.* *First*, In *Elizabeth's* diverting her from marrying the Arch-Duke of *Austria*; and, *Secondly*, In refusing her Permission to come to *London*, to defend her Cause personally, though her great Enemy, the Earl of *Murray*, was allowed that Indulgence. This Manner of Proceeding was so far from being just, that there is no Court in the World, but
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where, if one Party is admitted to make personal Appearance, the same is granted to the other.— But to whatever Height Envy, or female Pride, may have influenced Queen *Elizabeth's* Conduct, yet we must do her the Justice to acknowledge, that her Consent to Queen *Mary's* Death was excited by the Reformed *Scotch*, who could never believe their Religion in Safety, while their Queen lived: And *Elizabeth's* setting her Hand to the Warrant for *Mary's* Execution, appears not to be done voluntarily; but that she was compelled thereunto, to appease the Violence of a Faction then subsisting in her Privy-Council. Neither can we credit, that she ever designed to have the Warrant put in Execution, as she often, when uninfluenced by Prepossessions, shewed the greatest Commiseration for the hard Circumstances of *Mary* Queen of *Scots*; and gave such a strict Charge to *Davidson* not to proceed on the Warrant, 'till further Orders. Likewise, the deep Contrition which she afterwards shewed, for the Part she had acted in that Tragedy, fully evinces she had no Design to deprive *Mary* of Life, whatever she might have with regard to keeping her a Prisoner.

From what has been observed in the foregoing Enquiry, it will not be difficult to draw a just Sketch of the true Characters of both Queens. *Mary* Queen of *Scots* appears to have been exceeding Handsome, Eloquent, Polite, Witty, and Engaging; nay even Prudent, when left to follow her own Measures; to have been of an easy, affable, mild Disposition, but rather of too amorous a Constitution, which very much contributed to her Ruin. And the Courage with which she supported her Misfortunes, shewed her to be endued with all the heroic Fortitude becoming a crowned Head.

Queen

Queen *Elizabeth* was of a more manly Complexion, and robust Constitution : She was Learned, but not Eloquent, and her Behaviour was too robust to come within any Degree of Politeness. Her personal Address was no ways engaging, tho' in her Letters she could sooth and flatter, with Abundance of Art ; but, notwithstanding, she was difficult of Access. By all her Actions, she appears to have been a haughty, violent, masculine Spirit ; yet, nevertheless, at Times, she had her softer Moments, wherein she could unveil her Pity, Love, Compassion, and all other tender Emotions of a Female Breast. Her Courage is unquestionable, and her Wisdom, Conduct, and Prudence, would have shone much brighter, had she not been over-ruled by a powerful Faction in her Cabinet.

Upon the whole, it is manifest, that *Mary* Queen of *Scots* was much to blame, both in the Liberties with which she indulged her Favourite *Rizio*, and the violent Resentment that she shewed at his being assassinated. Neither can her continual Neglect of ratifying the Treaty of *Edinburgh* be well excused, as she had solicited Queen *Elizabeth* to undertake the Mediation of it. Her screening of *Bothwell* had no very good Aspect, and her After-Marriage with him, gave the World too much Room to censure her Conduct. But, notwithstanding this, her Behaviour to the Court of *England* was no ways such as could afford any just Cause for using her in such a cruel Manner, and, at last, putting her to a violent Death.

Both Queens were too much bigotted to their different Principles of Religion, ever to entertain a sincere Friendship for each other ; and designing Men took Advantage of this Prepossession on both Sides, to raise such Feuds and Broils as were subservient

servient to their own sinister Purposes. *Murray*, under the Pretence of Reformation, embroiled his Country, dethroned his Sovereign Queen and Sister, and, at last, drove her to those Extremities in which she lost her Life.

This certainly was not according to the Christian Religion which is truly Innocent, Just and Equitable; promotes Good, and injures none, not even Enemies; which strictly enjoins Obedience to Sovereigns and Magistrates, and forbids the Effusion of Blood on any Account, much more the embroiling whole Nations, for to gratify ambitious Desires. Wherefore it is evident, that Religion was not the real Guide and Conductor of the Managers in these Times; but was made a Cloke, to hide and excuse their iniquitous Proceedings. It likewise appears, that Queen *Elizabeth* never thoroughly forgave *Mary* for assuming the Title of Queen of *England*; and that she resented it too violently by detaining her a Prisoner, partly on that Account, notwithstanding the most solemn Promises of Friendship, Equity, and Hospitality. However, in this Violation of her Faith and Honour, as well as in most of her Actions, Queen *Elizabeth* was too much influenced by a cunning and designing Administration, who knew how to play upon her generous Soul, that never was guilty of an unkind or unfaithful Action, unless drove to it by some artful Minister of State or evil Counsellor. All the Proceedings of the Court of *London* against Queen *Mary*, were founded upon an imaginary Superiority, that they conceived *England* to have over *Scotland*, though this pretended Power was never granted by the latter; neither could it be made appear, either from the Law of Nature, the Law of Nations, the *Roman* Law, nor from any Contracts, Treaties, or Covenants subsisting between the two
King.